REPORT

ON

QUESTIONS RELATING

TO THE

ADMINISTRATION

OF

CRIMINAL AND WANDERING TRIBES

IN THE

PUNJAB,

BY

HARI KISHAN KAUL, R.B., C.I.E.,

AND

L. L. TOMKINS, INDIAN POLICE.

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CHAPTER I—INTRODUCTORY.

Appointment of the Committee.

1. This small Committee, consisting of two members, was appointed by the orders of the Punjab Government, contained in the Revenue Secretary's letter No. 375 (Home—Police), dated the 22nd November 1913, for the purpose of examining various administrative problems that present themselves in connection with criminal and wandering tribes. His Honour desired the Committee to suggest how the provisions of the new Act, III of 1911, under which no rules have yet been framed, could be utilised in dealing with tribes of varying degrees of criminality, with a view to their reformation; to go into the question of reformatory settlements, which had been contemplated from time to time, but were never organized; and to report on the industries on which members of the criminal tribes could be employed, in order to determine how far it would be necessary to provide land for their maintenance. The Salvation Army being the chief workers in the field, His Honour thought the time had come for undertaking a formal enquiry into the methods and merits of their system and its suitability to the present conditions of the Province. The Committee was also asked to examine the question of the employment of other agencies, official or non-official, that may be prepared to undertake similar reformatory work, and to suggest how far the work of non-official agencies could be brought within the purview of the Act. The separation of the children from their parents, for the purposes of education, was also cited as one of the subjects to be treated; and the Committee was required to consider how far the wandering tribes should be dealt with under the Act. In short, the Committee was called upon to suggest, in its report, a future policy for Government to follow in regard to the general treatment of the tribes already notified as criminal, and settled, as well as those known to be given to crime, but still leading a nomad existence. It was also asked to supply materials for any reports that may have to be made to the Government of India under Section 11 of the Act, to draft a complete set of new rules to give effect to the policy it may recommend and to frame rough estimates of the cost of those recommendations.

Scope of the report.

2. On the 13th of December, we commenced our inquiries into the numerous complex problems affecting the greater part of the Province, but within the short time at our disposal we have been unable to do more than

indicate the broad lines on which the future policy of Government in the administration of criminal and wandering tribes should, in our opinion, be based. The details of our scheme must, perforce, be left to other hands with greater leisure at their command. But, in arriving at our conclusions, we have made a careful study of the history of the case by examining past records, personally visiting the various centres where the criminal tribes are to be found in considerable numbers and minutely examining their past and present conditions. We have also studied the course of action adopted in the United Provinces and Bombay and, in the former, had the advantage of visiting the Salvation Army settlements. The material collected by us during these investigations is given in the following paragraphs, along with our conclusions and proposals.

Tribes dealt with.

3. In this report, we have dealt separately with the settled and wandering sections of the criminal tribes. The annual reports on the working of the Criminal Tribes Act contain statistics of adult male members of criminal tribes registered under the Act, but there was no record of the total population of each tribe or section of a tribe declared to be criminal. On the other hand, nothing whatever was known as to the strength of the wandering tribes. We obtained from each district a statement giving details of the population of criminal tribes in villages containing more than 20 male members. These statements, which involved little trouble in preparation, show that the adult males over 12 years of age represent about one-third of the total population. This enables us to form a rough idea of the total population of the settled tribes with reference to the number registered under the Act; and, calculating in this manner, the figure may be assumed to have been (21,215×3=) 63,645 in 1912, as detailed in the margin.

Tribe.	Registered population.	Estimated total population.
Baurias	6,801	20,403
Sansis	8,600	25,800
Minas	367	1,101
Biloches	511	1,533
Tagus	238	714
Harnis	1,683	5,049
Gutkas	30	90
Pakhiwaras	1,441	4,323
Mahtams	195	585
Dhillons	46	138
Dher Kharls	50	150
Valana Jats	19	57
Bhats	191	573
Giloi Biloches	130	390
Bars and Tharanas	329	989
Nur Mahram and Akla Hayat Biloches ...	584	1,752
Channars, Gadhis, Saghals and Churheras ...	Not registered yet.	
Total ...	21,215	63,645

With a view to obtain an estimate of the strength of wandering tribes of criminal propensities, we arranged to take a regular census of all wandering gangs who reside under portable reed, or cloth, shelters and to collect information regarding their ostensible means of livelihood, to enable us to judge of their criminality. The total number of persons thus enumerated on the evening of 7th February was 114,440, but on going through the entries we found that 63,396 of them belonged to tribes undoubtedly harmless. The population of the tribes generally admitted to be notoriously criminal was found to be—males 7,463, females 6,998, total 14,461. At the same time, 36,583 persons (males 19,189, females 17,394) appeared to fall in a doubtful category. The results of the census in respect of the two latter classes are given at the end of this report in statements forming Appendices I and II.

CHAPTER II—SETTLED TRIBES.

GENERAL.

General.

4. The tribes, which have been declared criminal, are enumerated below, in the order in which they were notified :—

Tribe.	Locality, where registered.
1. Sansis	Throughout the Punjab.
2. Baurias	Throughout the Punjab.
3. Biloches	Ambala and Karnal districts.
4. Harnis	Throughout the Punjab.
5. Pakhiwaras	Throughout the Punjab.
6. Minas	Throughout the Punjab.
7. Tagus	Throughout the Punjab.
8. Mahtams	Village Mahtam in tahsil Sharakpur of the Gujranwala (formerly Lahore) district.
9. Bhats	Villages Jhammat and Chak Lala in the Sialkot district.
10. Giloi Biloches	Village Giloi in the Montgomery district. The tribe has since been removed to, and settled in, Chaks 402 and 602 in the Lyallpur district.
11. Nur Mahram and Akla Hayat Biloches.	Chaks 172, 173, 175, 183, 215 and 216 in the Jhang district.
12. Gutkas	Village Hudiara in the Lahore district.
13. Tharanas, Bars and other castes of village Salooni.	Salooni Chak No. 269 in the Lyallpur district. Some of them have since been removed to Khai, Garh Fatteh Shah and Shadi villages near the Ravi in the same district.
14. Dhillons	Village Dhillon in the Lahore district.
15. Dher Kharals and Valana Jats of village Bahuman.	Village Bahuman in the Sharakpur tahsil of the Gujranwala (formerly Lahore) district.
16. Kanjars (Habura) of Gurgaon ...	Not registered.
17. Dhinwars	Not registered.
18. Bhangalis (Bhantu Sansis of Kangra district).	Not registered.
19. Dullus of Montgomery district ...	Not registered.
20. Parhar Biloches of Montgomery district.	Not registered.
21. Saghal Biloches of Jhang district ...	Not registered.
22. Gadhi Biloches of Jhang district ...	Not registered.
23. Channars of Jhang district ...	Not registered.
24. Churheras of Montgomery district ...	Not registered.

Ethnology and History.

5. It is not possible in this report to discuss at length the ethnology of the criminal tribes, but a few brief introductory remarks regarding the origin and status of the tribes enumerated above will assist in understanding their history. Exactly at what period, or in what circumstances, the various tribes became addicted to criminal pursuits is naturally in most cases uncertain, but the extent to which these communities have become hardened in traditions and habits of crime depends upon the length of time during which they have

followed criminal pursuits as a profession and the circumstances in which they have been nurtured. The difference in their criminality at the present time is, therefore, one of degree; and the tribes with which we have to deal may be divided broadly into two large classes, *viz.*, (1) the robbers and burglars and (2) the cattle-lifters. The former class is divided into two distinct groups, *viz.*, (*a*) gipsy tribes which have, from time immemorial, led a wandering life, residing mainly in the jungles as hunters and fowlers, under easily portable cloth, or reed, shelters and availing themselves of all opportunities of thieving, until crime became a hereditary occupation with them; and (*b*) other settled tribes which, for one reason or another, took to thieving, with or without violence, either from love of adventure or as a lucrative profession. Members of the latter class have usually had a fixed residence, although they have mostly been graziers and have consequently led a more or less nomadic life within a certain area. A classification of the tribes, on these principles, is given below:—

Class I.—Robbers and burglars—

(*a*) Gipsy tribes...
1. Sansis.
2. Kanjars (Haburas).
3. Bhangali (Bhantu Sansis).
4. Baurias.
5. Pakhiwaras.
6. Mahtams.

(*b*) Others ...
1. Biloches (of Karnal and Ambala).
2. Harnis.
3. Giloi Biloches.
4. Bhats.
5. Minas.
6. Tagus.
7. Gutkas.
8. Dhillons.
9. Dhinwars.

Class II.—Cattle-lifters.
1. Tharanas and Bars.
2. Nur Mahram and Akla Hayat Biloches.
3. Dher Kharals and Valana Jats.
4. Dullus.
5. Parhars.
6. Saghals.
7. Channars.
8. Gadhis.
9. Churheras.

Short notes on each tribe are given below, together with a brief history of its administration and remarks on the stage of reformation at which it stands:—

CLASS I.—Robbers and burglars.

(*a*)—*Gipsy tribes.*

THE SANSIS.

Ethnology. 6. The Sansis constitute by far the most comprehensive and formidable hereditary criminal tribe we have to deal with. They are known by various names such as Sansi, Habura, Bheria, Bhantu, Bhedkut, Kikan, Kanjar and assume, at their convenience, titles like Nat, Perna, Bazigar, in order to conceal their identity, or to make a pretence of an ostensible means of livelihood. A detailed list of the names under which they pass in their settled, or

wandering, condition is given in one of the following paragraphs, but all such groups trace their origin to Sans Mal, which leaves little doubt about their common origin.

Sans Mal is said to have been the son of a Chohan, or Tur Rajput woman, somewhere in Rajputana, by a low caste man, born in the jungle, to which the perverse alliance drove the woman under the caste rules. It is impossible to fix either the place in, or the time at, which Sans Mal lived. But considering the fact that off-shoots of the tribe, claiming descent from him, have overrun the whole country except Southern India and settled in different places under different local names, it appears probable that he existed long before the Muhammadan conquest of India. Sans Mal, or Sahas Mal, means in Sanskrit, the "champion of strength," and the name is typical of the pre-Muhammadan period. The children and descendants of the ostracized woman, not being allowed to enter a town, evidently wandered from place to place, eking out an existence as best they might. In this condition they would naturally associate with other outlaws and gradually develop into a caste of wandering woodmen, living mainly by hunting and very often by plunder. The conditions of this out-caste life of wandering degeneracy would no doubt result in their accepting such food as nature provided, even to the consumption of unclean animals and reptiles.

Although living a life of degradation in the wilds, these out-castes remained within the pale of Hinduism, and the great majority of them, to this day, profess that religion, although in its crudest form. Some sections, however, have adopted or been converted to Islam or Sikhism, as will be mentioned later on.

It would probably be incorrect to assume that all Sansis of to-day are descended from Sans Mal, for there must have been large accretions by what may be called association. Other outlaws and out-castes have from time to time doubtless helped to swell the ranks of this gipsy class and got thoroughly absorbed in it.

A Sansi ordinarily claims Rajput descent and this is true enough in a sense, of the parentage of Sans Mal and of many a subsequent initiate; but he is, at the same time, conscious of his low status and evil traditions. The self-respect of the Rajput and moral sense of the high-caste warrior are completely dead in him, and it is idle to expect that without strong coercion the evil traditions and habits of ages can be eradicated from his nature or that his moral turpitude will easily succumb to better influences.

7. The Sansis have always headed the list as the chief of the criminal tribes of the Punjab and they contributed very largely, in 1870, to furnishing the objects and reasons for the passing of Act XXVII the following year. Indeed long before then they had, with the Baurias, Harnis, Pakhiwaras and Biloches, been placed under surveillance and restrictions, in accordance with an executive Circular No. 18 of 1856, issued by the Judicial Commissioner. The restrictions over these tribes were increased in 1865, when the Judicial Commissioner announced the circular to have the force of law, but in November 1867 the Chief Court declared it to be illegal. History.

It was under the authority of this circular, which was declared to be illegal after being in force for eleven years, that some Sansis of the Sialkot district were placed in the *kots*, or settlements, at Dhingranwala, Kot Adian, Nangal, Kot Mohan, Mandianwala, Kot Goenke and Kot Jhandusahi and some Pakhiwaras, who are probably also Sansis converted to Islam, at Kot Mokal and were given some land for their maintenance. The *kot* system was first advocated and introduced by Mr. E. G. Princep in 1856 when the *kots* at Jhandusahi and Kot Mokal were instituted. The others were formed at intervals during the next decade and, after an existence of fifty years with their

varying conditions, they serve as a most useful guide for the future and afford a study of very great interest. As will be shown further on in the report, the people placed in these *kots* were to a great extent nomadic at the time. Of these places it was recorded in 1871, *i e.*, in the interval between the cancellation of Circular No. 18 and the application of the Criminal Tribes Act :—

"In the Punjab, the *kots* of Sansis and Pakhiwaras have effected something of reformation and would have succeeded better had better land and more adequate resources been available. It is essential that fertile land should be attached to a reformatory village and that exertion should reap its richest reward. Though this has not been the case, and markedly at one place where the land is wholly sterile, still we can point to the fact that, although surveillance is no longer exercised, a very considerable proportion of the Sansis have chosen to continue residence and work in their villages. Those who have issued forth to prey on the public, as of old, are equally troublesome, but we must be thankful that their number is not what it assuredly would have been had the *kot* system never existed."

In 1872, an application was made to the Government of India to apply the provisions of the new Criminal Tribes Act, passed into law the year before, to the Sansi, Pakhiwara, Gurmang, Harni, Bauria, and Biloch tribes. The Sansis were then described as "well known as criminal" and "as a wandering tribe who do not ordinarily possess any land. They are addicted to theft, cattle-stealing and house-breaking" and a number of instances were cited to show their criminality. In Hoshiarpur they were stated to have "returned to their old ways" and in Sialkot they "still continued to leave their villages on plundering expeditions." On the Government of India calling for further information, it was reported of these tribes in 1873 :—

"All the tribes under consideration.........have more or less fixed places of residence though undoubtedly, for some months in the year, they are in the habit of leaving those fixed places and wandering elsewhere, sometimes into other districts. As a rule, however, it is found that they return to those places of residence, and the reports specify the very villages in which each gang of the tribe is found. It is true that the reports speak of the tribes as gipsies and wanderers, etc. . . . . . The Sansis, Harnis, Pakhiwaras and Baurias so far back as 1856 were proclaimed by this Government as criminals. Of their character it may be truly said that it has always, everywhere, and by all persons, been declared highly criminal. It is hopeless to search yet further amongst judicial and police proceedings for more evidence on this point. The papers submitted show how dexterous these tribes are in concealing their names and tribes when arrested, and the care they take never to commit offences where they are known; hence it is that probably not one-thousandth part of the crime they commit can be brought home to them."

These two passages are cited to show that Sansis and the other tribes dealt with were both criminal and nomadic in the early seventies and in very much the same condition as the wandering Sansis, styled by such names as "Kikan, Kanjar, Habura, etc." at the present day. It is well to bear this in mind, as we have to report, in a subsequent chapter, on the wandering gangs of these criminal tribes.

Among other points requiring further elucidation, before sanctioning the application of the Criminal Tribes Act to those five tribes, the Government of India specially asked for information as to the manner in which it was proposed that the tribes should earn their living; and the provision proposed, and eventually accepted by the Government of India, was that the "Deputy Commissioners should give to the Lambardar of the village in which the gang resides, an order in writing stating the limits beyond which members of the gang, male or female, old or young, are not to go without special leave, and take care that the limit is clearly explained to the gang. It should be extensive enough to enable the gang to go for employment to any neighbouring village within 5 or 6 miles," it being explained and requested further on that "as the restrictions of Section 3 may fairly be assumed under ordinary good management not to interfere with their liberty to the extent of preventing their earning a living honestly, the provisions of the Act should be enforced against the six tribes."

In forwarding this recommendation to the Government of India, the Punjab Government endorsed it as follows :—

"With regard to the question how these tribes are to earn a living, I am to state that His Honour agrees with the Inspector-General in considering that there is nothing in the restrictions, which it is proposed to impose on these tribes, to place their members in a worse position for earning

an honest livelihood than they are at present; and looking at the great demand for labour, for cultivation, and also on railways, canals and other public works carried on by the Government and district authorities, the members of the proclaimed tribes ought to have no difficulty in obtaining ample subsistence, if they are only willing to work."

In December 1873, the Government of India selected the Sansi tribe as the worst of the six recommended and authorized the Local Government to declare it a criminal tribe. This was accordingly done in March 1874 in the Karnal, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Sialkot, Lahore, Ferozepore, Gujranwala and Gujrat districts, where members were known to reside. For the first year or two, some difficulty was experienced in locating and registering the elusive gangs, but in a few years the Act and rules were reported to be working smoothly. Many gangs appear to have escaped, but many were found and they and their descendants are to be seen at the present day settled down in fixed residences all over the Province. Those Sansis who escaped registration in 1873-74 are present with us to-day in their wandering criminal state under such names as Bhedkut, Kikan, Kanjar, etc., in fact under any name but their own. After the application of the Act, evidence of reformation was soon forthcoming, and the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot wrote in 1875 :—

"I find from the report sent me on the subject by the Tahsildar of Raya, regarding the Kot Adian Sansis, that they are taking well to agricultural pursuits and honest ways of earning their livelihood, and all available land is under plough. The people seem contented and happy, and I have every hope (in the ordinary course of time) of their reformation almost entirely. * * * I consider the Act a very salutary check against crime and far more beneficial in its aim and object than any other way that can be devised for controlling these hitherto wandering predatory tribes."

In Gujranwala, the same year, it was reported of the Sansis that "they commonly do some work and earn their livelihood, though it is but a poor one." In Gujrat, the hope was expressed that "it will probably be practical to remove some names from the Sansi register in the case of persons earning an honest livelihood." That year, *i.e.*, in 1875, the Punjab Government were able to report to the Government of India the result of the first experiment with the Act in the Province in the following words : —

"It will be perceived from the reports that the rules have upon the whole worked excellently, and that the difficulty apprehended in regard to the provision of subsistence of members of the tribe has not occurred."

On the strength of the success achieved with the Sansis, the Government of India accorded sanction to the remaining five tribes,—the Pakhiwaras, Gurmangs, Harnis, Baurias and Biloches,—being brought under the Act. In 1877, it was discovered that Sansis were present in considerable numbers in other districts than the nine in which they were registered, notably in Shahpur, and power was sought to register them, as in the case of the Harnis, Pakhiwaras and Baurias, throughout the province, but His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was not convinced of the necessity.

Meanwhile much was being done in the Sialkot *kots* by Government in the way of putting wells in order and making advances for seed grain, but it was apparent that too many people had been located in most of these places, and that the inmates did not make the progress they might otherwise have done, in consequence. Many vicissitudes were experienced from year to year in the administration of these settlements; sometimes the years were unfavourable, at other times the people broke out into crimes including dakaiti. Efforts were made for the better control of the *kots* by appointing police guards in place of some of the jemadars who were found to be in collusion with the inmates. Walls were also built with a view to keeping the people in, but proved ineffectual. On the whole, however, satisfactory progress was recorded. The annual reports also point to a gradual but steady improvement in the conduct of the Sansis settled down in isolated communities in other districts.

In 1880, a suggestion was made to establish reformatory schools for Sansi boys where they could be educated into honest ways of livelihood. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor concurred in the proposal and recommended it to the attention of District Boards, but nothing seems to have come of it.

In 1882, it was found in Lahore that the 1,400 Sansis, scattered about among 226 villages, had reformed so far, that the Commissioner of the Division considered that they might be released from the restrictions of the Act. It is noteworthy that in our investigations we have found that members of criminal tribes, living in small numbers amongst other communities, exhibit generally a great tendency to reform and to take to honest livelihood than in places where they reside in considerable numbers.

In the following year, *i.e.*, 1883, the registered Sansis throughout the Province were generally reported to have improved, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that their women should be taken off the register in Ludhiana, Sialkot and Karnal and that the rules should be relaxed in favour of such of the men as showed signs of improvement and were gaining an honest living. In this year, it was reported that many of the registered Sansis in Karnal and Ludhiana were still living a gipsy life, but even there, their behaviour had greatly improved, only 4 convictions being recorded against over 900 people in the former.

In 1889, as the result of exhaustive inquiries ordered by Government, Mr. Turton Smith, Deputy Inspector General of Police, wrote :—

"As to the criminality of Sansis, I conclude from the reports now received by me and from the records to which I have access, that crime by Sansis, registered in our districts, is generally committed at no great distance from the places in which they are settled in their own district, or the districts immediately adjoining. There is an absence of evidence that the Sansis generally go far afield to commit crime. The Bengalis, a sect of Sansis, are constantly on the move in the Kangra district and in the submontane parts of Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur, where they have at times given much trouble. The Sansiyas of the North-Western (United) Provinces are scarcely to be distinguished from the Sansis and Mr. Warburton proved that they were very dangerous criminals, addicted to violent crime, and that they travelled long distances to commit it. Speaking of the Sansis generally in the Punjab, the crime committed by them is not of a serious type, though they number among them some habitual house-breakers and thieves. * * * The returns for the nine years from 1885 to 1893 show that, on an average, 411 of the 3,531 registered persons were absent, chiefly from Gurdaspur, Gujranwala and Sialkot. Mr. Warburton, District Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, imputed absence in remote localities for the purpose of committing crime. The returns show that taking the convictions obtained in the seven districts in which Sansis were registered, there were in all in the nine years only an average of 31 Sansis convicted per year for theft, 12 for house-breaking, 2⅓ for robbery and dakaiti and 12 annually for other offences under the Penal Code."

These figures indicate the great improvement which had been brought about in the conduct of the registered Sansis during the sixteen years since they were first brought under the operations of the Act. It was discovered, however, that with the Sansis, as in the case of other registered tribes, many of their number had absented themselves and gone to districts where the Act was not in operation, and there was some reason to believe that these absentees were not always the least criminal. It was also found that registered members, avoiding their own districts, committed crime in others where they were less well known. It was proposed, therefore, that all male members of certain tribes,—Sansi, Bauria, Pakhiwara, Harni, Mina and Tagus,—over the age of 12 years, should be registered throughout the Province and anthropometrically measured, and that in all cases females should be exempted from registration and restriction. After due consideration and inquiry, orders issued in Punjab Government Resolution No. 75, dated the 4th March 1902, giving effect to these and other suggestions, and all adult male Sansis were subjected to registration and their finger impressions were recorded throughout the Punjab.

In the meantime, the vexed question of the Sialkot *kots* had come to the front again. Colonel Montgomery, the Deputy Commissioner, represented that the existing wells had fallen into disorder, that others were required, that various improvements and changes were wanted, and he asked for a substantial grant of Rs. 4,000 for the purpose and for the remission of revenue paid by the people of Kot Mokal. He also suggested that a regiment of Sansis might be formed. About the same time the Sansi prisoners, who were

in the Sialkot Jail for absence without leave, petitioned Sir Mackworth Young and complained "that they cannot keep body and soul together in their villages and *kots*, and that they cannot get leave to go and find work, so that their only way is to go without leave."

As a result of the inquiries which were made, Rs. 1,600 were sanctioned for wells in Kot Adian and Dhingranwala, and instead of the revenue paid by the people of Kot Mokal being remitted, a "small *malikana*" was ordered to be taken from the residents of the other *kots* who had hitherto paid nothing; incidentally it transpired that the schools in the *kots*, which had been opened to educate the young, had entirely failed and been closed in several instances, and that in others they existed in little more than name. The school in Mandianwala under the American Mission alone showed any real signs of life.

In 1903, it was discovered that the orders conveyed in Government Resolution No. 75, dated the 4th March 1902, had caused the number of the registered persons, resident in the Sansi *kots*, to rise from 391 to 550, and the Deputy Commissioner, in reporting the development, pointed out that the average quantity of land in the hands of every male Sansi came to something like 15 kanals, which was insufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family; and he continued :—

"It appears to me, therefore, that the whole system is radically unsound, and I think that the idea of dumping down a lot of Pariahs on land which they are not habituated to cultivate, and which if cultivated would admittedly be insufficient for their maintenance, and then calling it a reformatory, discloses a misnomer the equal of which it would be difficult to find."

The Punjab Government then directed the attention of the Deputy Commissioner to paragraphs 10 and 12 of Resolution No 75 of 4th March 1902, and pointed out that the action taken in Sialkot did not appear to be in consonance with the policy of Government to allow relaxation of the rules in the case of well-behaved and hard-working persons, as therein laid down, and asked for further information in the matter. In April 1904, the Superintendent of Police reported that he had personally visited all the settlements and, in giving effect to the orders of Government contained in Resolution No. 75 of 1902 in the district, had raised the number of the registered Sansis from 360 all under restrictions to 853, of whom 452 were exempted. Regarding his action he wrote :—

"If the strict letter of the rules had been adhered to, I am bound to state that a large number of persons, who have received exemptions, would still be under the operations of the Act as they had no ostensible means of livelihood, nor could they establish a character for honesty. They have been given the benefit of the doubt, as it was obvious they must have starved if located in one of the settlements without land, ploughs, cattle, money or friends."

In this way, by rather over-straining the policy of Govenment as contained in the Resolution of 1902, the tension in the Sialkot *kots* was relieved, and the situation in them has since been much less acute. But the whole history of these settlements since their inception in 1856 is a record of trouble and difficulty. In the first instance, when placed in the settlements, the Sansis knew nothing of cultivation and were without the necessary capital and knowledge to develop the land and, later on when they acquired or were given the necessary implements and took to the land, their numbers increased far beyond the capacity of the land to support them.

In the course of our inquiries we visited some of the Sansi settlements in the Sialkot district, and the evidence we collected there in two typical cases is summarised below :—

At *Dhingranwala*, which we visited on the 16th December 1913, the total population is 149, of whom 63 are males, 26 females and 60 children. All the males are registered, and of their number 17 are exempted. There is a jemadar on Rs. 10 in charge of the *kot* with two constables to help him. Roll-call is said to be held, but there is no register, and the calling of the roll

appears to be a farce. We found 37 men, over one-half of the male population of the *kot*, with convictions, 13 under the Indian Penal Code for offences against property and 24 with convictions for other offences. But during the last ten years only 4 men, or 6·35 per cent., had been convicted under the Indian Penal Code and 27, or 42·85 per cent., for absence without leave, which, in the case of the Sansis, is equivalent to saying they were guilty of crime, for they seldom absent themselves for any other purpose. During the year 1913, there were 30 complaints received at Pasrur from other police stations regarding the depredations of the people of this *kot*. The number of convictions and complaints is probably no index of the volume of crime perpetrated.

The men are restricted to a circle with a radius of 5 miles from their village, but the women and children under 12 are free to move at will and go out begging, and have the reputation of stealing as well. The land attached to Dhingranwala is 185 acres free of revenue, all unirrigated, of which the average cropped area is 158 acres. This land should produce about 800 maunds of grain a year which would provide 4 maunds per head per annum, or rather less than ½ of a ser per head a day. In 1912-13, 130 acres were cultivated, but only 97 acres matured, producing 630 maunds of grain for the year, which works out to slightly over 3 maunds per head per annum, or a little over ⅓ of a ser per head per diem. It is impossible for the people to live on this. They own 13 ploughs, about 50 cows and 20 goats and sheep, and do no other form of work to assist their livelihood except hunt jackals with dogs for food. The women, however, spin and have the cloth woven by Meghs living in the surrounding villages.

There was a school which was closed in 1872, and no individual in the settlement can read or write. There is no shop-keeper in the village as none will stay there.

The people stated they were willing to work, but, when offered Rs. 8 a month, showed their unwillingness to take to it and disliked the idea of going anywhere else. In appearance, they are a dirty and ill-clad set, evidently very poorly off and with little apparent interest in life. The people in the neighbourhood complain of their depredations, mostly of a petty nature, such as pilfering from standing crops and theft of anything they find lying about by day or by night.

The condition of the people and the poorness and insufficiency of the land point to the desirability of removing the surplus population to another sphere. The new land settlement at Kot Adian may provide the necessary outlet.

At *Mandianwala*, which we visited on 19th December 1913, the total Sansi population is 357, of whom 140 are males, 89 females and 128 children. The 140 adult males are all registered and 90 of them are exempted. During the last ten years, 5 men, or 3·57 per cent. of the adult males, were convicted under the Indian Penal Code, 4 under the Criminal Procedure Code and 16 for absence.

The land, in possession of the Sansis, is 364 acres, given to them free of rent by Government as tenants. Of this area, 315 acres are cultivated, and the average area under crops in the last five years was 259 acres—kharif 83 and rabi 176. About half the land is well-irrigated, the other half being "barani". Distribution has been made at four acres per plough, half irrigated and half unirrigated. There are 66 ploughs and the people own 133 head of cattle. Fifty acres of the land have been taken away from the Sansis and are in the possession of one Ibrahim, a Christian, the son of one John Lewis, who was put into Mandianwala by a former Deputy Commissioner, as jemadar in charge and who is dead. The present holder, Ibrahim, failed as jemadar in charge of Mandianwala and was dismissed when he refused to accept a transfer to Kot Adian. The land seems to have been wrongly taken away from

the Sansis and should be given back. In addition to cultivation, the people work in the Sialkot town which is within the five miles radius. They act as grass-cutters, collect and sell bones and fuel and take to the numerous openings for work, presented by a large town, earning easily from six to eight annas a day.

In appearance the people are well nourished and well clothed; their houses are well built, neat and clean, many of them exhibiting signs of carving and ornamentation, arts no doubt learnt in the city but speaking of pride of ownership. Although the grey beards remember the days when they wandered with their parents in "sirkis", the present occupants of this village have completely settled down, and they find it necessary to build walls to keep thieves from carrying off their cattle. Past records show that, in former years, the people of this *kot* used to commit thefts in the city, but at the present time there are probably not more than half a dozen men who really require looking after.

There is school in the village kept by the American Mission, attended by 40 boys of various castes, coming mostly from the surrounding villages. Amongst this number are only three Sansi boys, the children of converted Sansis, of whom there are eight in the village, they themselves being also literate. The Sansis would take more advantage of this school except for fear of their children being converted.

The official history of the registered Sansis may be briefly summed up as follows:—Before 1856 they were nomads, living by crime in the same state as the so-called Kikans, Kanjars, Haburas, etc., of to-day. In fact they were and are the same people. In 1856 some of them were caught and placed in settlements in Sialkot, others were similarly arrested, registered and settled in villages in the nine districts of Karnal, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Sialkot, Lahore, Ferozepore and Gujrat. In 1902, the Act was enforced throughout the Province in case of all Sansis, with more or less fixed residence, and we find them now at varying stages of reclamation.

That those who are registered are now finally settled is clear, and that the majority of them earn an honest, if often a poor, livelihood is obvious from statistics and observation. The last report on the working of the Criminal Tribes Act shows that there are 8,773 Sansis registered in the Province, of whom 3,468 are exempted. The average number of registered Sansis convicted during the last five years works out to :—

Under the Indian Penal Code	39·6
" " Criminal Procedure Code	30·4
" " Criminal Tribes Act	129·4
" other offences	6·0
Total ...	205·4

Working from these figures, we find that the percentage of the registered Sansis convicted per annum is,—under the Indian Penal Code ·45, under the Criminal Procedure Code ·34, under the Criminal Tribes Act 1·4, for other offences ·06 and for all offences 2·34. In remarking upon this very low average of convictions, we must remember that the Sansis are skilful thieves, that their depredations are mostly of a petty nature and that they are seldom caught. Still we must acknowledge that there are many of them who do not now steal at all, but work honestly for their living, and it is beyond doubt that since the Act was first applied to these people, a remarkable change for the better has come over them. As a rule they are sufficiently subdued and their reclamation is sufficiently advanced to justify Government in changing its policy to the extent of distinguishing more closely between the good and bad communities and individuals.

THE KANJARS (HABURAS) AND BHANGALIS (BHANTU SANSIS).

Brief account.

8. Habura is the name by which Sansis are called in the west of the United Provinces, and Kanjars are the Sansis in the eastern Punjab who prostitute their women. The old theory that the Kanjars were a caste distinct from Sansis has long been exploded. Bhantu and Sansi are synonyms, and Bengali or Bhangali is the designation by which they pass in the Kangra district. These tribes have been notified as criminal, the Kanjars (Haburas) in Gurgaon, and the Bhangalis in Kangra, but they have not been registered, as they were found to be wanderers.

THE BAURIAS.

Ethnology.

9. Bauria is a functional term, being derived from "*wanwar*", a rope net, and meaning one who uses, or hunts with, a rope net. The term only denotes "hunter by profession". The Baurias have come to be regarded as a caste separate from the Sansis, and they themselves trace their origin to some degraded Rajput at Chittour to which they allege they were attached at the time of the sack of that town by Ala-ud-Din Khilji. But their separate origin appears very doubtful. In paragraph 590 of his Punjab Census Report of 1881, the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson considered the Kanjars of the eastern Punjab to be Baurias, and it is now well recognized that Kanjars are Sansis. The Kanjars of Karnal openly admitted this before us. Indeed as early as 1872, when the Baurias were found chiefly in the southern districts of the Province, the Punjab Government in addressing the Government of India wrote of them as "professing to be descended from Sans Mal, Rajput". The obvious inference is that the Baurias, Kanjars and Sansis are really one people, descended from a common ancestor. It is probable that the Baurias form an off-shoot which separated from the Sansis at a very early date, apparently before the famous sack of Chittour, and crystallized into a separate caste with customs and practices somewhat different to those of the Sansis. In more recent years they have, moreover, largely adopted the Sikh religion—6,002 out of a total of 32,856 having been found at the Census of 1911 to be Sikhs.

Notwithstanding all these changes, brought about by time, the Baurias have largely retained the main features of their race, being until comparatively recent years essentially nomadic in their habits and supporting themselves by hunting, fowling and theft. Indeed numbers of them are in this condition even at the present time, although the tribe as a whole evinces a tendency to settle down.

History.

10. In 1872, it was recorded of the Baurias that they were chiefly to be found in the Gurgaon, Delhi and Rohtak districts, and in addressing the Government of India, the Secretary to the Punjab Government wrote:—

"Their crimes are of all degrees, from pilfering to dakaiti. The women take part in their thefts and frequent fairs where they pick pockets and steal ornaments from children, they also take service with rich native ladies and even go to live with rich natives as their mistresses, in order afterwards to give such information to the men of the tribe as will enable them to rob them. The women also, when a band of Baurias is caught, conceal small articles about their persons, or swallow them, and actively resist the police when an attempt is made to search a village. The families of convicted Baurias are supported by the whole tribe. The police reports show that in 1866, 19 were convicted of cattle-theft in Rohtak, when it was found they had a regular 'receiver' at Delhi; again 18 were convicted of theft and abetment in Rohtak, and one of theft in disguise. They are mentioned as a wandering tribe of criminals in Karnal, and in Lahore as infesting the district. In 1870 Karnal was troubled by incursions of Baurias from Bidanti in the North-Western Provinces; and in Hissar they are spoken of (along with Sansis and Harnis) as 'a well-known thieving tribe'; in Sirsa they are said to be house-breakers and cattle-stealers; the Bedwati section are noted receivers of stolen property, and it is added that the tribe is sheltered in Rajputana. In Lahore they are settled in fixed villages and can be easily controlled. Kangra suffered by their raids from Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. In 1869 they are mentioned as being much bolder in Ambala; whilst in Amritsar, where it was said in 1867, 'they seem to be settling to honest courses, 18 of the tribe were convicted in 1868 and 23 in 1869; and in Ferozepore, where also in 1867 they gave no trouble, the district is described as 'infested' by them, and they were convicted of two robberies, and strongly suspected in two dacoities. The Baurias, besides being thieves, are also professional forgers, and counterfeit coin is almost always found in their possession when they are apprehended."

This passage was written after the Judicial Commissioner's Circular No. 18 of 1856, under which the movements of the Baurias were restricted, had been declared illegal by the Chief Court, and it was in these terms that the Punjab Government sought the sanction of the Government of India to notify the Baurias as a criminal tribe.

In 1873, the Baurias were found in the districts and numbers given in the margin. Many of these people were still in a nomadic state, but others had already begun to settle, some having even acquired land of their own, but all were said to be able to make an honest living if they wished to do so. It was proposed by one Deputy Commissioner to deport them for employment on public works, but the experience with the Sansi *kots* of Sialkot had been such as to preclude the idea of any similar venture in regard to other tribes. Set free from the restrictions of Circular No. 18, the Baurias continued their depredations unchecked until, in October 1875, the Government of India accorded sanction to their being declared a criminal tribe. On being notified, they were registered only in Ferozepore. In January 1878, orders were issued for them to be registered in Ludhiana as well.

Ludhiana	...	1,122 souls residing in		37	villages.
Ferozepore	...	3,340	" "	162	"
Delhi	...	419	" "	11	"
Gurgaon	...	458	" "	various	"
Sirsa	...	2,182	" "	189	"
Lahore	...	644	" "	10	"
Jullundur	...	127	" "	9	"
Total	...	8,292	" "	418	"

Scattered throughout the eastern and central Punjab and settled in small isolated communities in villages occupied by other tribes, the Baurias have all along shewn a greater tendency to settle down than tribes more concentrated and consequently stronger to perpetuate their old traditions and resist the suggestions and impulses born of outside influence. As early as 1877, a Ferozepore report showed that "Many Baurias in this district cultivate in villages adjacent to their own. Many near cantonments live by selling grass and wood in cantonments." Again in Lahore it was said, the same year of the Sansis, that they did not cultivate like the Baurias. In 1878, the Baurias of Ferozepore were reported to have quite reformed and become good agriculturists and very few of them were thought to be still addicted to theft. The Deputy Commissioner, that year, exempted 455 of the 1,790 Baurias in the district. In 1881, it was found in Ludhiana that the tribe had gradually "thinned away" until only 438 members registered under the Act remained. Only 5 persons were convicted during the year, 2 for theft and 3 for breach of the rules. In 1883, the Baurias in Ludhiana and Ferozepore appeared "to be gradually taking to agricultural pursuits and little or no serious crime was proved against them".

The reports regarding the tribe in those two districts continued in this strain until, in 1902, it was found that considerable crime and suspicion attached to Baurias living in other districts and, on the difficulty of controlling a tribe registered in some districts and not in others being represented, it was decided by Government to include the Baurias among the tribes to be registered throughout the Province. They were then brought under the Act in all districts and their finger impressions were taken. By the end of 1903, a total of 5,301 Baurias had been registered, of whom 751 were exempted and 472 had absented themselves. In that year, only 23 or 0·4 per cent. were convicted under the Indian Penal Code and 78 or 1½ per cent. under the Criminal Tribes Act. It seems doubtful whether the registration of these people in Jhang may not, at first, have forced them into crime. It was reported thus :—

"Before they were registered they moved about freely in the Colony and stopped in places where there was a demand for labour. As soon as their work was completed, they moved on to some other locality where there was a demand. The effect of registration has been to force them to reside in the village where they were found at the time of registration. They have no lands, and if their services are not required by villagers, they have either to steal, starve or absent themselves. Their antecedents are not known, nor do they appear to belong to any district where they have been registered. The majority of them appear to have come from Native States in the Punjab and Rajputana. The question of making some arrangement for these criminal tribes, to

enable them to earn an honest living in the locality to which they have been restricted, has not been settled yet."

The following year, it was reported from the new district of Lyallpur that "the *abadkars* of Lyallpur look upon these men as useful labourers, and a good many of them possess their own carts which are engaged by grain merchants." From that time onward, steady progress in the reformation of the tribe has been noticed year by year. Increasing numbers of Baurias have been exempted from the operations of the Act in every district until, in 1912, of the total of 6,801 men registered, no less than 2,844, or 41 per cent., were exempt. During 1912, only 27 Baurias, or a little over ·3 per cent., were convicted under the Indian Penal Code, while 62, or under 1 per cent., were convicted for breach of rules.

The history of the Baurias presents no startling facts regarding the tribe itself, nor does it contain any heroic endeavour on the part of Government to reclaim it. Largely nomad in the beginning and scattered about the Province in small bodies, they were arrested by the application of the Act and pinned down, mostly in small isolated communities greatly inferior in numbers to the various other people amongst whom they found themselves. It would seem that, separated in this manner and consequently weakened for purposes of organization, they have been particularly susceptible of the influence of the stronger tribes living about them and have benefited from the example set by their more industrious neighbours. We find that in the districts where they are most scattered, *e.g.*, Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepore, Montgomery and Lyallpur, they are the best behaved, whereas they still give a certain amount of trouble where they are found in large numbers. The Baurias of Dewatwal and Lilan in Ludhiana, for instance, have been among the worst behaved communities in the past and, so late as 1911, those of the former village were strongly suspected in a dakaiti case. Another bad village is Dhamlaka, near Rewari in the Gurgaon District, which we visited on 26th January 1914. In this small village, the Bauria community numbers 24 males and 38 women and children, and are still found with their nets and traps for the hunting and snaring of various kinds of animals and birds, a feature which in itself does not point to their following regular pursuits. Of the 24 males of this village, 15 have been convicted, 2 are absent and 1 is in jail. During the last ten years, 7, or 29 per cent. of them, have been punished. These people say they cultivate, but in reality they do not pursue agriculture at all and own no ploughs or bullocks. There are bitter complaints about this nest of thieves, who live by preying upon Rewari town and the adjoining villages and, it is said, are harboured by some influential people in the neighbourhood.

From the history of the Baurias, lessons may be learnt which are valuable in formulating a policy in regard to nomad criminal tribes which have hitherto not been brought under the Criminal Tribes Act.

THE PAKHIWARAS.

Ethnology. 11. Pakhiwara, or Pakhiwala, means one living in a "pakhi" or moveable reed shelter, and all nomad gangs using that kind of shelter could be, and indeed often are, in vulgar parlance called Pakhiwala, Pakhiwara or Pakhiwas. But the term Pakhiwara is now applied specifically to a criminal tribe of Muhammadans settled in some eight districts in the province and to wandering members of the same fraternity still to be found in a nomad state living under "sirki" (reed) shelters. Vivian, in his Hand-book of the Criminal Tribes of the Punjab (page 124), considers the origin of this tribe to be very obscure. He attaches little weight to the fanciful story, mentioned by him in paragraph 2 of Chapter XII, about the flight of a prince, in Moghal times, hotly pursued by royal troops, taking shelter in the encampment of a wandering tribe and marrying the Chief's daughter, and eventually becoming a free-booter. In the absence of any names or other particulars, the story cannot but be treated as a myth, invented by way of explaining the separate

existence of Pakhiwaras. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson considered the Pakhiwaras to be a branch of the Sansi tribe and several district officers have held the same view. In corroboration of this theory we find the Punjab Government, in their Resolution No. 4053, dated 17th December 1880, writing of "the Sansis with their sub-division the Pakhiwaras." The correct explanation seems to be that the Pakhiwaras belonged, at one time, to the great wandering Sansi brotherhood, but were converted to Islam at an early date, when they abandoned their caste name of Sansi with its Hindu associations and adopted, or came in time to be known instead by, the term Pakhiwara from their mode of living.

12. The first official mention of this tribe dates back to 1856 when they were proclaimed criminal by the Punjab Government. In 1871, the settlement at Kot Mokal was formed and the Pakhiwaras were placed in it under Circular No. 18 of 1856 issued by the Judicial Commissioner. The land attached to the settlement was 488 acres with 5½ wells, belonging to the Pakhiwaras, and 448 acres with 5½ wells, acquired by Government in 1859, and allotted to the people as tenants at-will on payment of the annual revenue amounting to some Rs. 145 In 1867, the circular was declared illegal and, for the next eight years, the Pakhiwaras were under no supervision. In 1872, the Punjab Government applied to the Government of India for sanction to notify the Pakhiwaras and five other tribes as criminal under the Act. It was then remarked :— History.

"Almost all that has been said of the Sansis applies also to the Pakhiwaras, who are connected with them and trace their line back to the same common ancestor. They are said to be much bolder criminals and were more difficult to deal with in the reformatory settlement in Sialkot."

On the Government of India calling for a further report, it was noted in 1873 that they were habitually addicted to the commission of non-bailable offences, and their numbers were given as follows :—

"*Ferozepore.*—None shown as resident but eleven as punished.

Gujranwala.—35 persons. It is considered they can well support themselves if they choose.

Sialkot.—575 souls residing in a *kot* and outside it. This only needs money asked for by District Superintendent, Rs. 9,306, to make itself supporting."

At that time the District Superintendent of Police of Sialkot reported on them in the following terms :—

"*Mokal.*—This is the only Pakhiwara *kot* in this district, and this tribe appears comparatively more criminal than the Sansis More heinous offences have been traced to them; they keep beasts of burden and engage themselves as carriers to have opportunities to steal the property entrusted to them. They sometimes pretend to be weavers and traders, and when they settle themselves in a village, say they are growers and sellers of vegetables and fruit; they hide in jungles near roads and at night, finding opportunity, rob travellers, traders, carts and dâk carriages. When a strong gang assembles they do not scruple to commit robbery on the highway from the bullock train and to wound the guards. Such offences were committed in May 1872 on the Grand Trunk Road and on the road from Amritsar to Batala by absentees from Kot Mokal. They committed a robbery in the Amritsar district about 6½ years ago; five men were convicted for it. Again in 1866 a number were prosecuted in the same district as belonging to a wandering gang associated for purposes of theft; much miscellaneous property was found in their possession. They have frequently been taken up and punished as vagrants in the Gujranwala district. A number of Pakhiwaras, living out of the *kot* or whose residence in it cannot be traced, have been convicted in the Gujranwala district. The *kot* is said to contain 375 and there are living outside but close to the *kot* 200. The whole Pakhiwara population is therefore 575 in this district."

In 1875, the Pakhiwaras were notified a criminal tribe and were brought under the Act Much of what has been written of the Sansi *kots* in Sialkot applies to the Pakhiwara settlement at Kot Mokal, in which rather more than half of the tribe lived in 1878, paying less than one-third of the ordinary revenue on their land. Much difficulty was experienced with them at that time "owing to the frequency with which they left the *kot* and owing to

the facility with which they can assume all manner of disguises" when absenting themselves. The Superintendent of Police wrote of them in 1878 as follows:—

"Very few of either the Sansis or Pakhiwaras have been struck off the register for good conduct. As far as I can judge from eight years' experience, these criminal tribes are irreclaimable thieves; Pakhiwaras are much the worst of the two, as they are adepts at disguises, and when they absent themselves from the district, they seem to completely lose their identity, assuming with ease any caste or creed."

In that year, 23 Pakhiwaras were convicted for absence, 3 under the Indian Penal Code and no less than 110 adults were away without leave. Some of these absentees were found to be engaged in "systematic railway thefts" in Jhelum, where they were convicted. In the Lahore district, it was reported that, "at times, considerable numbers of Pakhiwaras and Harnis wander about in gangs; these, when found, are sent back to their own districts where they are registered." In 1880, it was reported that 31 Pakhiwaras were punished on first conviction and eight on second conviction and that 126 were absent without leave. The Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot remarked:—

"I fear these figures show that there is but slight hope of these tribes (Sansis and Pakhiwaras) taking to agriculture as a means of livelihood, though I must also point out that during the last two years both police and magistrates have given more attention to carrying out the rules; latterly heavy punishments have been given. As long as they have a chance of wandering about and procuring their livelihood by levying blackmail and by theft, they will not turn to honest work."

That year, 14 per cent. of the Pakhiwaras were absent without leave, and it was discovered that 113 others had escaped registration altogether. The school at Kot Mokal was also found to be in a very unsatisfactory condition, and, towards the end of the year, it was closed altogether as a "mere waste of money." The failure was "undoubtedly due to the parents' influence over the children, and their preventing the regular attendance of the children."

"If, however," continued the Deputy Commissioner, "Government would establish a large central reformatory, the attendance at which should be compulsory between the ages of 8 and 18, the children would be removed from their parents' influence. The instruction should chiefly consist in teaching agriculture and trades and such an institution might be made to a great extent self-supporting, as a large number of the inmates would be able to do remunerative work."

In 1881, the school was re-opened in accordance with the expressed policy of Government.

In the Government Resolution on the working of the Criminal Tribes Act for 1882, the conduct of the Sansis and Pakhiwaras was commented on as good and, on the recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel Birch, Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, the Lieutenant-Governor expressed the desire that the names of all the women and decrepit persons should be entirely erased from the register unless strong reasons could be advanced to the contrary. He also impressed upon Commissioners the necessity for a careful and elastic administration of the Act. Lieutenant-Colonel Birch seems to have taken advantage of the views of Government to proceed a great deal further than was intended. He wrote in February 1884:—

"I have now the honour to submit the police returns for 1883. It will be seen that twelve Sansis and five Pakhiwaras have been convicted during the year of offences under the Indian Penal Code; but this was before the conciliatory measures promulgated at the end of the year had been made known. I confidently anticipate a cessation of crime during the present year. The members of the tribe have been most favourably impressed with His Honour's merciful treatment and policy, to which it has been, and is, a great satisfaction to me to give effect. I only hope that the police Department may be led, ere long, to recognize the advantages of the change. At first it has been with some reluctance that members of the force have parted with the firm grip which the system of surveillance gave them over the so-called criminal tribes—soon to be criminal no longer—and the compulsory services of the members of these tribes have no doubt also been missed by some of them. I think that the tendency, throughout the Province, of police officials to keep these tribes in servitude should be diligently watched and checked, and effect given to the gradual liberating policy now initiated, until the Sansis are placed on the same footing of freedom as the rest of the community. The Pakhiwaras of this district have been absolutely exempted from the operations of Act XXVII of

1871. The police on duty over them have been withdrawn, and the registers have been ordered to be sent in to this office. It was possible to make this total exemption, because for some years previously the registers had been gradually reduced. There is only one settlement of Pakhiwaras at Mokal, near Satrah in the Pasrur tahsil, divided into three *kots*, or enclosures, the inhabitants of two of which had been already taken off the registers. Those of the third have now been released, noted bad characters being treated as ordinary subjects for the security laws. The rest of the Pakhiwaras had been long permitted to reside in various villages, but the precaution of keeping a policeman in each of these villages had been taken. They have been all withdrawn."

From Kot Mokal Colonel Birch toured round the other *kots* and liberated the populations in turn. The sub ject was commented upon by the Inspector General of Police in the Annual Report for the year. He wrote:—

"Towards the end of the year, the Pakhiwaras, who have been for years under the restrictions of the Criminal Tribes Act, were, without any weight being attached to the views of the police, released summarily from all control. As the matter has been separately represented to Government, I need only add with the Commissioner of the division, 'It is certainly unfortunate for the reputation of the Sansis and Pakhiwaras that a grave increase in crime should coincide with the relaxation of their supervision.' Colonel Birch adheres to his opinion that the 'Sansis and Pakhiwaras have a bad name but that their increased freedom will not have a bad effect.' A gang of the latter tribe belonging to Sialkot was caught in the Hoshiarpur district, where they had given much trouble and had committed several offences against property."

In the Police Report for 1884 appears the following passage:—

"The Pakhiwaras were emancipated from the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act on 1st January 1884. I fear the measure was a little premature, as during the year the conduct of the tribe has not improved as will be seen from the following table of convictions during the past three years—

Offences under the Indian Penal Code—

1882	11
1883	5
1884	8

They are believed to have been concerned in 26 offences during the year."

During 1885, "the Pakhiwaras released from the provisions of the Act, continued to give trouble; eleven of them were convicted of offences under the Indian Penal Code during the year" Finally, in 1886, the Pakhiwaras, being found to have resumed their thieving habits, were again brought under the operations of the Act.

It was probably while exempted from restrictions that many of the Pakhiwaras emigrated from Sialkot, for in 1898 it was found that, while there were 2,705 of them in that district, over four hundred had appeared in the adjoining districts of Lahore, Gurdaspur and Gujranwala. In 1901, it was ascertained that the exact numbers of these emigrants were:—Gurdaspur 323, Gujranwala 180 and Lahore 39, making a total of over 500. Mr. Williams, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Ferozepore, also reported that "several Pakhiwaras have recently migrated from Sialkot and have taken up their residence along the banks of the Sutlej in the area of Sadr, Nawa Killa and Jalalabad police stations." The inquiries thus set on foot resulted, in March 1902, in Government ordering that the Pakhiwaras should be registered throughout the Province.

In 1899, the situation in Kot Mokal and the Sansi villages in Sialkot was reviewed. There were then in the former 249 men, 237 women and 324 children and owing to the paucity of land and small means of livelihood at their disposal, the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot recommended that the revenue amounting to Rs. 275 paid on the Government land should be remitted. This proposal was not sanctioned. In 1903, Mr. Tollinton, Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, represented the unsatisfactory state of the Sialkot *kots* to Government, the ultimate outcome of which was that 860, out of a total of

1,136 Pakhiwaras, were exempted from the operations of the Act. The Commissioner of Lahore in commenting on this action wrote :—

"From the District Superintendent of Police's report it would appear that he has gone beyond the strict orders of Government in exempting members of the criminal tribes. But after deducting all exempted persons, there are 288 non-exempt men, in addition to 208 women and 231 children in Kot Mokal, dependent on 2,406 kanals of land. This allows an average of $8\frac{1}{3}$ kanals for each man, or an average of $3\frac{1}{3}$ kanals for each person (including women and children) and it is impossible to suppose that they can live on this."

When this report reached Government, the Superintendent of Police's letter was 18 months old and, while His Honour was inclined to think that there might be grounds for some radical changes in the reformatory system, it was not clear to him what alterations were suggested and he consequently desired a further examination of the question.

The following passage occurs in the Report on the working of the Criminal Tribes for 1907 :—

"Some signs of improvement are visible among the Pakhiwaras. Of 1,172 registered members in the Sialkot district, 744 reside in villages and are said to have settled down to an honest livelihood as cultivators. Of the remaining 428 members of the tribe, 375 are settled in a reformatory at Kot Mokal and 53 in a reformatory at Kot Mohanpur in the Sialkot district. The former are reported to be very criminal and to show no signs of reformation whatever. In this connection the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot wrote :—' There is not enough land at Kot Mokal to support all the Pakhiwaras and they have not got a chance of living honestly. When the Raya Branch is completed, a new reformatory should be started on some of the Government land in the south-east corner of the Raya tahsil and the surplus Pakhiwaras from Kot Mokal should be drafted to it. The question of supplying criminal tribes with the means of earning an honest livelihood is one which demands earnest attention. The provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act are applied with a considerable degree of stringency, and they are likely to be enforced still more strictly in the future ; so that, if we are to be rational in our treatment of these people, it is imperative that they should be placed in a position which will at least allow them the option of adopting an honest course of life."

To this was added the following year :—

"The Pakhiwaras of Sialkot, residing in Kot Mokal and Kot Mohanpur, are by far the most criminal in the district and show no signs of reformation. They are constantly absent and commit crime of all kinds all over the country. The Pakhiwaras, residing in the other villages of the Sialkot district, are for the most part vegetable sellers and there are no complaints against them. This can also be said of the members of the tribe residing in the districts of Gurdaspur and Gujranwala. The Pakhiwaras of Ferozepore, however, are closely related to those of the Sialkot district and harbour the absentee members of the latter district."

In 1909, Commissioner Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army caused inquiries to be made, through one of his officers, as to the possibility of starting Salvation Army settlements at the Sialkot *kots* and, in June of that year, he addressed Government dwelling on the state of Kot Mokal and stating that "the greatest need of the situation is perhaps in regard to the children who swarm in great numbers at all the *kots*, and appear to be an element of great danger and difficulty in the future, as they are being trained in lives of crime. At Kot Mokal the favourite pastime among the children appears to be to build mud houses and practise burgling them, while some old Pakhiwara acts as umpire to decide who excels at the art". In the meantime, the suggestion of providing the surplus Pakhiwaras with land at Rakh Adian was being considered by Government, but the proposal was deferred pending the completion of the canal.

In February 1910, as the result of a meeting between the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot and Staff Captain Jackson of the Salvation Army, it was decided to start weaving and other industries at Kot Mokal under the auspices of the Salvation Army and, in April the same year, Government sanctioned Rs. 500 for the erection of buildings and a monthly maintenance grant of Rs. 200 for the first year and Rs. 150 for the second year. The Salvation Army staff came into residence in June 1910 and, by September 1911, the settlement had "made a good start".

We visited Kot Mokal on the 17th December 1913. The total Pakhiwara population is 990, of whom 411 are men, 238 women, 166 boys under 12 years and 175 girls. All the men are registered with the exception of 3 lambardars and an ex-constable. Of the 407 registered men, 136 are exempted, 68 have been absent for periods varying from one month up to many years and 66 are in jail. During the last 10 years, the convictions were as noted in the margin. It is noteworthy that the convictions under the Indian Penal Code were almost invariably obtained outside the Sialkot district.

Under the Indian Penal Code ...	37, or	9 per cent. of males.
" Criminal Procedure Code	41, or	10 "
" Criminal Tribes Act ...	450, or	112 "
Total ...	528, or	126 "

The village is divided into two parts known as (1) Mokal, where the land, measuring 447 acres, is held in proprietary right by the Pakhiwaras, and (2) Kot Mokal, where 406 acres of land, belonging to Government, have been allotted to tenants of the same tribe. Of the total area, 612 acres are cultivated, 534 being irrigated partly from 14 wells and partly from overflow of the Satrah stream. Some 400 acres depend on the wells. There are 53 proprietary holdings, averaging slightly over 8 acres, and 285 tenancy holdings. On an average, the cropped area of the village amounts to:—kharif 169 acres and rabi 224 acres, or a total of 393 acres. With a total population of 990, these figures give ·39 of an acre of crops per head.

Except cultivation, practically no other occupation is followed. Although there have been instances of men working on the canal, yet ordinarily Pakhiwaras will not do this kind of work. On the Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, offering to take three men of the tribe into the police on trial, practically all the young men of the village offered themselves. Three of them were chosen and their future conduct will be interesting to watch.

Our investigation in this village left no room for doubt in our minds that the Pakhiwaras of the *kot* have not been given a fair chance of reforming and, if there is good foundation for complaints of their thieving propensities, the blame cannot be said to rest entirely with them. Between lack of land and industrial opening on the one hand, and rigid restriction of movements on the other, the people have been driven into seeking a means of subsistence by crime.

The people are a fine manly race and their cultivation is good. Given the chance, they will settle down, just as the people of their tribe have settled down to honest livelihood in other villages in the Sialkot district and in Gurdaspur, Gujranwala and Ferozepore, where the conditions of life are less unfavourable than at Kot Mokal.

THE MAHTAMS.

13. The origin of the Mahtams is very obscure. The word *mahtam* is probably identical with Sanskrit *mahattam* which is the superlative of the adjective *mahat*, meaning great. The name would, therefore, ordinarily signify a title of honour, unless it were used ironically, like the term *mehtar* which, in Persian, means "very high," or "exalted," but is often applied to a sweeper. Whatever may be the source of the appellation, the etymology of the term helps little in arriving at the ethnic origin of the class. The fact, however, remains that till recently the Mahtams were a wandering tribe, residing mainly in riverain forests and living on hunting and crime. They appear to have begun settling down to fixed residence and taking to agriculture and other honest pursuits even earlier than the Baurias and, consequently, they are now in a far more advanced condition than the Sansis, although they are still known, in many places, for their pronounced inclination to thieving. They profess Hinduism of a somewhat higher degree than the Sansis, and large numbers of them are Sahjdhari Sikhs. Ethnology.

History.

14. The small section of the Mahtam tribe, living in village Mahtam, on the left bank of the Ravi, five miles from Sharakpur in the Gujranwala district, came to notice in 1887, owing to its increasing criminality. The population was 993, of whom 526 were males. The land then owned by the community was 941 acres, of which 801 acres were cultivated, which gave considerably less than one acre of cultivation per head of population; and it was found that there were no less than 342 convictions on record against 144 men of the tribe, 178 being for offences against property. For many years before application was made for the Act to be applied to them, the Mahtams of the village had the worst reputation, being given to theft from growing crops, cattle-theft and burglary, and being skilled in the use of skeleton keys. They were known to rob openly and with violence and were feared throughout the neighbourhood.

With the sanction of the Government of India, the Mahtams of village Mahtam were declared a criminal tribe in August 1888, and the register of the male adults was prepared the same year. Within the next ten years, a marked improvement was noticed in the conduct of the community, and the people added to their honest means of livelihood by thatching and dealing in baskets, *chiks* and mats, manufactured from the grass and reeds growing along the banks of the river. By 1903, the improvement was marked and the Deputy Commissioner wrote:—

"I am now giving exemptions to men whose good character is attested by the police and village officials, and I find that nearly all of the non-exempted persons are earning their livelihood as agricultural labourers, cart drivers and in other respectable occupations."

The reformation of the Mahtams was greatly assisted at this time by a grant of land, in tahsil Chunian of the Lahore district, to the well-behaved surplus population. At the present time, there are 909 Mahtams living in village Mahtam, of whom 282 are males, and it has been found possible to exempt all but 39. During the last ten years, 49 convictions have been recorded against the Mahtams under the Indian Penal Code, 10 under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and 2 under the Criminal Tribes Act. The community is reported to still require watching and, towards the end of 1911, there was some reason to believe that certain members of it were reverting to crime.

(*b*)—*Others.*

THE BILOCHES OF KARNAL.

Ethnology.

15. The Biloches of Karnal are found in a cluster of villages on the border of the Karnal and Ambala districts and the Phulkian States, a neighbourhood where the ground is ideal for grazing and affords excellent shelter, extending over a very large area, for thieves and cattle-lifters. These Biloches have come to be regarded as a separate tribe by themselves, and Williams, in his book on the Wandering and Criminal Tribes, mentions them as the aborigines of the Gangetic Plain. Rose quotes an account given by the Biloches themselves in which they claim to be descendants of Rind, but which also refers to the vagrant Biloch as a Habura. During our enquiries, we found that the people knew nothing about their origin or the time when they settled in this neighbourhood, but the older men told us the names of their clans. We ascertained that the Biloches of village Roshanpur were Hots, those of Guleke and Badoi were Jatois, those of Kenkar and Jakhwala, Rinds and those of Zulmatpur called themselves Silaris. Now Hot, Jatoi and Rind are well-known Biloch clans, and it is obvious that these people are neither the aborigines nor Haburas, but are descendants of Biloches from the Frontier. The theory that they are all Rind Biloches is incorrect. We were unable to visit all the Biloch villages in Karnal and Ambala and, therefore, cannot say how many more clan names may be found among them, but there cannot be the slightest doubt that they belong to more clans than one. These Biloches came originally from Baluchistan and Kech Mekran. This migration probably took place in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Biloches, after

their ascendency in the south-western Punjab, overran the other districts of the Province, as mercenaries of the Langah dynasty of Multan and also as independent free-booters. At page 44 of his Glossary of Tribes, Rose gives an account of how the Rind Biloches advanced up the Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej valleys and the Dodai and Hots up the Jhelum and Indus, and of the subsequent confusion which prevailed after their defeat by the Afghans in 1524. Is it not probable that these defeated levies, flying to avoid the conqueror, may have found their way across the Bahawalpur State and southern Punjab to the protection of the rising power of the Moghal dynasty? But the Afghans submitted to the Moghal Emperors, and we read that this submission threw the bulk of the Biloches into opposition to the Empire, and that the Biloches rarely entered the imperial services. Thus isolated from both great powers, it would be natural for them to seek such a hiding place as that in which we find their descendants to-day, the dense and, at times of the year, impenetrable jungles along the Ghaggar and Markanda streams. Settled in this new *habitat*, they would, no doubt in course of time, pick up the language in use there, take unto themselves wives and, in the course of a few generations, forget both their history and their language. Deprived of their old profession of warfare and rapine and discredited in the eyes of both Afghan and Moghal, these warriors and their children not unnaturally degenerated into the low class thieves we find them to-day. We have compared all the words of the Balochi Farsi spoken by these people, given at pages 97 and 98 of Vivian's Hand-book of Criminal Tribes, with their Balochi equivalents and find that with the exception of the term "lugga" (meaning house), which may be derived from Balochi "*logh*," there is no similarity whatsoever between the two sets. This dialect is, therefore, nothing more than a thieves' patter, similar to others of the kind in use with all the older and better organized of the criminal tribes.

16. The official history of the Biloches begins in 1872, when the Punjab Government applied to the Government of India for sanction to notify them and five other tribes as criminal under the newly-passed Act. They were then described as follows :— History.

"This tribe is found chiefly in the Karnal district and in the south of Ambala and Ludhiana. They are bold and expert thieves, known to be such by profession and very difficult to convict. In 1867, they are mentioned as being very troublesome in Karnal, especially those who reside in the villages of the Raja of Kunjpura; and in Sirsa they are described as professional cattle-lifters. In 1868, the Police Report from Karnal speaks of them as 'probably too well-known to be able to do much mischief.'"

The Biloches were not immediately proclaimed and, in 1873, they were found in—

Karnal	...	... 71 souls, residing in 8 villages.
Ferozepore	...	... 257 " " 9 "
Delhi	...	... 60 families in one village.

The tribe is, therefore, not a large one, and it would seem, from the increase in the strength of the Biloches in Karnal by 1877, that probably those of Ferozepore and Delhi moved to that district. There is no trace of these communities in Ferozepore and Delhi now.

Of the Karnal Biloches, the District Superintendent wrote thus in 1873:—

"There is no record in this district of any member of this tribe having been punished for any offence other than bad livelihood, although they are undoubtedly addicted to crime. The reason of this is simply that they prey upon the Native States adjoining and the districts round about and, when arrested, give false names and addresses. In their own district they do not commit crime. The work of surveillance will not be one of difficulty. There does not seem to be any necessity whatever for Government to take steps to provide these men with means of subsistence. Almost every village in the district possesses large tracks of uncultivated land, and wherever the

Biloches have not at present any ostensible means of livelihood, the lambardars profess themselves perfectly willing to give them land to cultivate on the usual terms. It will only remain, therefore, to see that the lambardars fulfil their promises when the Biloches have been registered."

In compliance with the repeated request of the Punjab Government, the Government of India accorded sanction to the Biloches being notified, along with four other tribes, in August 1875, but they were not registered until two years later, when Mr. Stone, District Superintendent of Police, submitted a long and interesting report, exposing the criminal propensities and organization of the Biloches with a completeness that carried conviction. The tribe was then reported to number 299 able-bodied men, living in 32 villages in the Ambala district, and 51 men living in 8 villages in the Karnal district, making a total of 350 men ; but Mr. Stone thought this to be an under-estimate.

In connection with an important burglary case Mr. Stone, with elaborate precautions, surprised the Biloch settlement at Malikpur at dawn and described the interior of the place as follows : —

"The inside of the houses occupied by these people, as described above, are the most wretched and uncomfortable imaginable. While searching the houses of the Malikpur Biloches, I noticed incongruities on every side which gave me a very good idea of their habits and occupations. Square earthen granaries, earthen vessels and round boxes of wicker-work lined the walls, while rickety *charpais* strewed the floor, the centre of which contained a fire-place. But the earthen granaries were filled with wheat, rice, &c., of the first quality; the earthen vessels contained the finest flour, snow-white sugar, ghi, treacle, preserves and pickles; the wicker boxes were stocked with numerous suits of female clothing, clean and new embroidered caps, coats and trousers for men, of the most fashionable Muhammadan and Hindu patterns. The *charpais* were strewn with new coverlets of chintz and filthy greasy shirts that had long ago lost their original colour. The women, that is to say, the young and pretty, wore an enormous weight of silver ornaments on their heads, arms and feet. The children were laden in the same manner. But—significant facts—not half a dozen ornaments were of one pattern; they were ill-fitting; their workmanship proclaimed them to have been made, some beyond the Ganges, some in the Punjab, and in one instance I noticed that ornaments for the arms were worn above the feet. The lords and masters of these possessions were a set of dirty, black, course-looking men, wearing short greasy rags round their heads, and somewhat larger ones round their loins; there was nothing visible to distinguish them from the sweeper caste. On all sides, I could not help noticing the appliances of the rich mingled with the unclean chattels of the poor; the outward signs of the two extremes of society brought together in a grass hut. It is impossible to produce a more convincing proof of the real occupations of this predatory tribe."

Mr. Stone went on to describe the *modus operandi* of the tribe, how they never under any circumstances broke two rules :—the first, never to commit crimes near their homes and the second, never to have accomplices out of their own tribe; how they were organized under "Jemadars" chosen as being the richest, the most daring and the luckiest among them; how they made use of the railways to convey them long distances in disguise, even as far as Calcutta and Bombay; and how they retained a limited number of Banias to act as receivers of their plunder. Their principal form of crime was burglary and they seldom stooped to petty ventures. Cases known to have been committed by them were such as burglaries committed in the houses of two Extra Assistant Commissioners, in which the plunder was worth Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000 respectively; the theft of property of a Tahsildar worth Rs. 17,000; and breaking into the house of a rich official at Lucknow, where Rs. 10 000 worth of property was obtained. The result of this exposure of the operations of the Biloches was that Government ordered the rules to be put in force against the tribe, in both Karnal and Ambala, the same year. There was some little delay in completing the register of the tribe in Ambala, but by May 1875, 152 individuals had been brought under surveillance in Karnal, and by 1879 there was evidence to show that this small number was rapidly diminishing, owing to members finding their way into the neighbouring Native States in order to escape the restrictions of the Act. By 1879, the registration was completed in Ambala and 216 persons were subjected to surveillance. A special sub-inspector and six constables were told off to specially watch the tribe and, during 1878-79, forty Biloches were sent for trial and convicted, five of whom were punished under the Indian Penal Code. The same year, the Commissioner of the Ambala Division put forward a proposal to locate the Biloches of Ambala and Karnal on a plot of Government waste

land, known as Teh Barasu, in the Pipli tahsil, but nothing came of the measure.

Before 1873, the Biloches operated at such long distances from home that they were not known in Karnal to have been punished at all, and one immediate result of the application of the Act to the tribe was that they began to commit offences nearer home and to be convicted. These local convictions, though embarrassing at the time, were probably a healthy sign that the restrictions of the Act were beginning to tell against more extended operations. They also had the effect of bringing the tribe into bad odour with the local authorities, resulting in a severer enforcement of the rules. But the Biloches still continued to absent themselves in large numbers and, in 1881, no less than 98 out of 396 registered males in Ambala were away without leave That year, a gang of eight of them was caught in Bengal in possession of over Rs. 8,000 worth of property, stolen from the Raja of Jamoa Kandi. The offenders were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. In 1883, the tribe having behaved better, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor agreed to the gradual erasing of the names of the women from the register. It was observed that some members of the tribe were evincing a disposition to settle down to honest labour and some of the people were beginning to invest their ill-gotten gains in land. In 1889, it was found that some 69 of the absent Ambala and Karnal Biloches had taken up their residence in the Patiala State and, at the request of the Punjab Government, the Patiala Darbar brought them under the Criminal Tribes Act in the State. In 1895, Mr. Turton Smith, Deputy Inspector General, mentioned in a report that—

"Many of the Biloches of Karnal own land, and their ostensible means of livelihood is from agriculture, by cultivation as either proprietors, tenants or sub-tenants In Karnal they could, if they wished to, live honestly by the means they profess to earn a living by. I believe that this is also true of Ambala, but the papers before me do not contain specific information."

But, during the nine years 1885 to 1893, the average number of absentees of the tribe was 150 and, in order to give effect to certain proposals, overtures were made to the Biloches to recall their absent members within a period of six months. This period was not considered sufficient for the purpose as, according to a statement of the Biloches themselves, the absentees were away far and wide throughout India and in Burma. From figures of recent years, it would appear that the Ambala Biloches gradually changed their residence into Karnal. Thus, in 1902, there were only 17 of the tribe, subject to the Act, left in the Ambala district, whereas the number in Karnal had risen to 452 registered males above the age of 12 years.

The official history of the Biloches is very incomplete and spasmodic, probably as a result of the tribe living hidden away in inaccessible jungles, but what does seem clear is that they have proved themselves less amenable to the discipline of the Criminal Tribes Act than most of the other communities to which it has been applied. Originally, no doubt, the Biloches selected the jungles as the safest stronghold from which to extend their operations and as a cloak to their movements, and who shall say that these fastnesses do not now serve these purposes? But the wheel of time has brought its punishment and the Biloches now find themselves restricted amidst jungles, incapable of cultivation, at a time when they would settle down to agriculture, equally with other tribes, if they had the means. The little land, however, which they hold is worthless, leaving them no alternatives but theft or starvation.

We visited the villages of Zulmatpur and Badoi and saw the people of Jakhwala, Tenkar and Bhagthalla in Karnal. The striking feature about them was their degraded appearance and scant and filthy clothing. Many of the men and boys looked ill and enemic; fever, enlarged spleen and bad eyes seemed not uncommon amongst them. In Zulmatpur, the 19 adult male Biloches own 60 acres of land with 300 acres of *shamilat*. The cultivated area, 47 acres all told, produces nothing but rice. The people stated that they could earn six annas a

day woodcutting, when a contractor required their services, which seldom happens. They find employment cutting reeds and making brushes, but their earnings from this source only work out to about Re. 1·4-0 a month per head. Some of the men are pledged as labourers to zamindars, but the latter describe them as lazy and indifferent workers. In Badoi, the Biloches seemed little better off than in Zulmatpur. Ostensibly, they obtain their livelihood in much the same way, but unless the absent members of the tribe supplement their earnings by remittances, it is difficult to see how they exist at all.

THE HARNIS.

Ethnology.

17. The Harnis are considered by Vivian to be akin to Sansis and Baurias. They call themselves Rajputs and Sir Denzil Ibbetson mentions them as Rajputs, driven from Bhatner by famine. But our enquiries show that some Rind and Hot Biloches call themselves by the name Harni, and that the term is derived from *haran*, a gazelle, and merely means the gazelle or deer-hunter. There is, in the Bombay Presidency, a criminal tribe known as "Harn-Shikaris," who would seem to be really Sansis. The Biloches appear to have been, and some of them still are, experts at hunting deer ; and the profession of hunting having, in other cases, proved a preliminary stage towards the formation of separate tribes much given to crime, there is nothing strange about Rind or Hot Biloches acquiring the title of Harnis from their mode of living and, in course of time and in a condition of isolation, losing all recollection of their original tribe. It would, therefore, seem that the Harnis have acquired their name from their former habit of hunting deer, much in the same way as the Baurias have gained theirs from their nets. The *modus operandi* of the Harnis in committing crime is similar to that of the Biloches of Karnal and also to that of the Giloi Biloches further west. We are, therefore, of opinion that the Harnis were originally Biloches.

History.

18. The Harnis were brought under surveillance for the first time under the authority of Circular 18 of 1856. In 1866, the Ambala police reported that they were not sufficiently controlled there and committed offences in other districts. Again the following year, the increase in crime in Ambala was attributed to them. In Hoshiarpur, an additional police station was established to keep watch over their five villages. In Kangra, they were noted as making raids from Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. In 1869, it was reported from Hissar that they made a regular raid on that district, plundered for six months and finally escaped into Bikaner. In 1872, it was recorded of them in Ludhiana :—

> "Harnis are most troublesome. Disguised as fakirs, hakims and merchants, they undertake long journeys and commit extensive burglaries, also robberies and even dacoities, when they have the opportunity. So many as one or two hundred men are usually absent from their homes every month in the dark nights. If any of the gang happens to be arrested, he never declares his correct name, parentage, caste or residence. The consequence is that they invariably get off either with a few stripes or three months' imprisonment, for a first offence ; of course no intimation of their conviction can possibly be sent to the Ludhiana police. They carry on their trade, generally taking with them two or three old men and boys to avoid suspicion and assist them in grazing their cattle which are used for carrying stolen property."

That year, 12 Harnis were arrested, while returning to their homes with large quantities of stolen property, by parties of police, who lay in wait for them ; but, as it was impossible to trace the owners, they could not be prosecuted.

It was in 1872 that the Harnis were included in the list of six tribes to whom the Punjab Government sought the sanction of the Government of India to apply the Criminal Tribes Act, passed in the preceding year. In that year they were distributed as follows :—

Ludhiana ...	... 2,045	souls,	residing in	35	villages
Ferozepore	... 35	,,	,,	5	,,
Jullundur	... 124	,,	,,	2	,,
Hoshiarpur	... 638	,,	,,	7	,,
making a total of	... 2,842	,,	,,	49	,, .

In Ferozepore and Jullundur, they were stated to have land, but in Hoshiarpur 53 families had no land, and in Ludhiana wholesale deportation, or employment on public works, was advocated. In spite of these conditions, it was maintained that the Harnis, like the other tribes, could earn an honest living if they wished to and would not be prevented from doing so by the restrictions of the Act. In 1875, the Government of India accepted this contention and the Act, having proved successful in its working in connection with the Sansis, the Harnis, Baurias and three other tribes were notified as criminal; but, through an oversight, no instructions were issued to the Deputy Commissioners under Section 7 of the Act. Notwithstanding the omission, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana applied the rules, made under Section 18 of the Act, to the Harnis and Baurias, and the illegality was not discovered until two years later, when the Harnis of Ludhiana committed five dakaities, several robberies and a number of cases of house-breaking. In January 1878, the omission was supplied, but the records are silent on the subject of 24 persons who were convicted for breach of the regulations in the interval. In 1877, a proposal was made to bring the Harnis under the Act in Jullundur. The same year, members of the tribe from Hoshiarpur gave trouble in Lahore, and their registration was also suggested. The Inspector General of Police consequently recommended to Government their registration throughout the Province. This proposal was not accepted, but, in 1878, orders were issued for the rules to be put in force against them in the Lahore, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. In Lahore no resident Harnis were found, the crime committed by them there being the work of members of the tribe coming from other districts. The same year, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana reported thus of the Harnis of Ludhiana :—

"There is already a great improvement, the result of the enforcement of the Act, and I have no doubt that its steady and persistent work will soon reduce them to the same level as their criminal brethren, the Baurias and Sansis. The Harnis were located in villages or on land given to them in the district, during the last settlement, and the present system of enforcing their presence in their own villages will soon make them take to agriculture and honest trade and pursuits. I do not think it advisable, at present, to establish punitive posts in their villages, as the additional impost to maintain these posts would, I think, impoverish them too much and in a manner push them back into crime."

Notwithstanding the "great improvement," the Ludhiana Harnis committed that year serious dakaities in Lahore, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ferozepore, those in Lahore and Hoshiarpur being attended with murder. Twenty-five persons were convicted under the Indian Penal Code, 21 were placed on security and 50 were convicted under the Criminal Tribes Act. In 1879, the Harnis of village Bir, in the Ludhiana district, petitioned Government saying that they had insufficient land and that, if they left the village to go out begging to other villages, they were punished by the authorities for absence, and they prayed that either the restrictions should be removed, or more land given them. After making enquiries, the Inspector General of Police reported to Government that zamindars were not disposed to employ Harnis on their lands because, as a rule, members of the tribe preferred procuring a living by dishonest rather than by honest means, that even if land were rented to them, they proved unprofitable tenants and failed to pay the rent and that, consequently, they had difficulty in getting any one to let land to them. The land held by them was insufficient for their wants, and they had no means whatever of obtaining an honest livelihood. It was further reported that some 400 or 500 of the tribe were absent without leave, and it was not considered likely that these people would settle down to industrial pursuits except under reformatory measures. The same year, Mr. Warburton, the District Superintendent of Police of Ludhiana, reported as follows :—

"This tribe was registered in 1876-77 when there were 2,742 souls; in 1878-79 there are altogether only 2,424, or a decrease of 318 is noticeable, of which the greater number are absent without leave and a large number are in prison; mortality has also, in some measure, contributed to the decrease. The land held by the tribe in this district amounts to 2,870 bighas, with an annual assessment of Rs. 2,012-3-4 Government revenue. It includes five villages, solely occupied by Harnis, within the Jagraon Police Station jurisdiction, *viz.*, Tappar, Mirpur, Bir, Bodalwala and Kiri, where the larger portion of the tribe live, as will be seen from the sub-joined statement.

This tribe shows no sign of improvement. From three to four hundred of them, at a time, remain absent from their homes, preying upon other districts. They return to their villages during moon-light-nights and, as soon as the dark nights set in, they leave for their hunting grounds in other districts. The Lambardars of their villages, being Harnis, never report the absence or return of members of their tribe, indeed, by exacting a fixed monthly sum from each absentee, it pays them well to conceal evasions and breaches of the rules. Search for members, known to have returned to their village, by the police is rendered ineffectual by the houses having internal open communications, one with the other and, as there is no wall surrounding the village, escape is easy. As a last resource, the police have to fall back on the co-operation of the neighbouring villages, with whose assistance the Harni village is surrounded and searched with great success, frequently resulting in the capture of returned absentees. With regard to Harnis I would recommend the grant of more land, as what they possess is not sufficient to support them and pay the Government demand, beside providing them with the necessaries of life. Their removal to the "Bar" district seems most desirable, as no spare land is available in this district and, if they are to be effectually prevented from thieving, they must have the means of gaining an honest livelihood. To scatter them about all over the district and obtain occupation for them, as under-cultivators, would, I think, tend to make matters worse. Nothing short of absolute restraint, to be exercised by a reliable body of special police, their villages surrounded by high walls with only one entrance, will, I think, prevent the tribe from following their hereditary occupation of thieving. Give them land equal to their wants and compel them to cultivate it, and then reformation is sure and certain to follow. In addition, I would strongly urge the location of punitive or special police posts, at each village to prevent individuals leaving the village at night without tickets of leave. In my opinion this last is a most essential measure. Under present arrangements it is found impracticable to check their wanderings. When restrained from being absent, they prey upon neighbouring villages, and each gang going out can easily commit three or four burglaries in one night."

During that year, 21 Harnis were convicted under the Indian Penal Code, 17 were placed on security and 95 were convicted for absence. The suggestion to transport the Harnis to the *bar* tract was rejected by Government. The condition of the Harnis did not improve in Ludhiana in 1880, when 89 more convictions were obtained against the members of the tribe, no less than 61 being due to evasions of the rules; but in Jullundur they behaved well and the Superintendent of Police contemplated recommending the erasure of their names from the register. There were only 116 of the tribe (of whom 24 were children) in Jullundur, and most of them owned land and earned an honest livelihood, only one being convicted of an offence under the Indian Penal Code during the year. In Hoshiarpur where, the year before, the Commissioner of Jullundur had reported them to be in a distressed condition, more than one-fourth of their total number (114) were punished under Section 19 of the Act, but only one person was convicted under the Penal Code. By 1881, the number of registered members present in Ludhiana had fallen to 2,149 males and females and, of these, no less than 365 were reported as absent at the end of the year and were thought to be pursuing a career of crime in the neighbouring districts. In that year, 14 persons were convicted under the Penal Code and 54 under the Criminal Tribes Act. Mr. Warburton again proposed locating punitive police posts in the Harni villages and to enclose them with high walls, but the suggestion to further embarrass the already impoverished villages did not commend itself to Government, nor does it appear that the proposal, to enclose the houses with high walls, was ever adopted in Ludhiana.

In 1883 Mr. Reid, Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, submitted a detailed report on the Harnis, from which it appeared that, out of a total of 857 males over the age of 12 years, no less than 778, or 90 per cent., were known to have been convicted. Of the convictions, 295 were under the Penal Code, no less than 115 being in other districts, and there was reason to believe that this record was no true indication of the actual criminality of the tribe for, when arrested, the Harnis invariably gave false names, caste and residence. Of the women, 138 had convictions, 36 under the Penal Code and 10 had been convicted more than once. A system was introduced that year of detailing selected police officers to the Harni villages, for three months at a time, from nine districts in which the Harnis were known to operate. These men were then returned and replaced by others. The measure was so far successful that 12 Harnis in disguise were arrested, during the year in other districts, by constables who had served in Harni villages. Mr. Reid found that the land in the possession of the Harnis was capable of producing Rs. 4-10-3 per head per

annum, or about 6 annas 2 pies per mensem, but he pointed out that other means of honest livelihood were available, if the people would only take to them. More than once, efforts had been made to induce them to take employment on public works, such as canals, roads, etc., but without success. Mr. Reid's proposal was to give them land and force them to cultivate it. That year, the Harnis in Jullundur and Hoshiarpur were reported to have behaved well and the suggestion, to exempt all those in the former, was repeated but not accepted. It was in 1885 that Mr. Warburton obtained the statements of two Harni approvers in Ludhiana, who disclosed the facts and offenders in 4 dakaities and 215 burglaries, committed in eight districts in the Punjab and the Patiala and Kapurthala States. These discoveries led to gang prosecutions in Amritsar, where the great majority of the offences had been committed, and many notorious offenders were satisfactorily brought to justice. One of the approvers was subsequently murdered by his tribesman and the other had his crops burnt and was very severely beaten.

The Commissioner of Jullundur, having been called upon for proposals as to the amount of land which would be required for the surplus Harni population of Ludhiana, reported to Government in 1885, forwarding letters from the Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, on the subject. The population of the five Harni villages of Birgagra, Bodalwala, Mirpur, Tappar and Kiri was—

Total population of the five villages ...		... 2,024
Women and children		... 1,319
Males		... 705
Proprietors of land		... 506
Non-proprietors		... 199
Total of absentees	Proprietors absent... 172; Non-proprietors „ ... 173	... 345

The land, held by the proprietors, worked out to an average of $2\frac{1}{17}$ acres to each adult male, and the Deputy Commissioner wrote :—

"It is palpable that $2\frac{1}{17}$ acres are not sufficient to support a man and his family, and the average number of women and children is as two to each male. I think 5 acres at least should be allowed per male and, in order to give them that, only 290 males could be retained in the five villages, aggregating 1,452 acres, and 415 males would have to be deported to a new tract of land, which might be given them in the Punjab jungle 'Bar.' These 415 men would require 2,075 or say 2,500 acres, to allow of grazing ground, etc."

In his letter No. 59, dated 23rd February 1885, Mr. Warburton wrote that, after thirteen years' experience of the Ludhiana Harnis, he was convinced that the only method of entirely reclaiming them was to form a colony, where land was available, under the supervision of a qualified European District Superintendent of Police, to wall in the dwellings and place a police guard at the gate. In this way he hoped to effectually prevent illicit absence and compel the inmates to work for their livelihood, while the younger members of the tribe would be educated and taught industries. As a partial measure, he thought that Harnis might be employed, under careful supervision and in small numbers, in the police.

The Commissioner of Jullundur, Colonel Gordon Young, in forwarding the proposals to Government, wrote :—

"In my own opinion the only hope of doing anything towards the permanent reclamation of the Harnis is to find an officer who is, by taste, temper and ability, specially fitted to undertake the charge, and then bodily transfer to him as many of the tribe as can be got to consent to go; and let him take up his residence amongst them, allotting them Government lands, as tenants paying easy rents, with the prospect of their tenure being allowed to develop into at least that of occupancy tenants and, perhaps, into that of full proprietors, if, by steady labour and good behaviour, they in time show themselves worthy of this indulgence. It would be necessary to depute an officer in the superior grade of District Superintendent of Police to the work. I imagine that, amongst the Inspectors and perhaps Deputy Inspectors, it might be possible to find a man with

enthusiasm to try his hand on this work, and who combines a knowledge of agriculture with the other necessary qualifications; and such a scheme should soon be self-supporting. There would of course have to be strict police surveillance at first, to be relaxed by degrees as individuals proved amenable to the rules of discipline and good conduct, which would be required. With some such prospects as these, I should think many persons would gladly turn to agriculture and in time they, or their children, would become decent members of society. The attempt to pen these people in under the Criminal Tribes Act and expect them to live on resources, not adequate for their support, is obviously futile, and it would be better, indeed, to commit them bodily to jail as of bad livelihood and transfer them to one of the large public works on which convicts are employed."

In 1888, Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, who had succeeded as Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, revived the subject of the colony, but the Commissioner, Mr. W. M. (afterwards Sir Mackworth) Young, in writing to ascertain the views of Government, deprecated the proposal, seeing insuperable difficulties in thus dealing with a portion of the Harni population. He considered the expense of the scheme prohibitive and found, in the section of the Harnis to be settled, unsuitable material for successful agriculture. He continued :—

"I believe the only way to deal with these tribes is gradually to reclaim them *in situ* by repressive measures where necessary, but mainly by ascertaining what work they are capable of, and putting it before them; for this constant personal attention and interest on the part of the District Officer and District Superintendent of Police is no doubt required, but much can be done as has been proved, I believe, by Mr. Christie's efforts to reclaim the Minas in Gurgaon, where these are not wanting ".

In the Government reply to this reference it was said :—

"The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with Mr. Young that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of these proposals. To settle down on waste land in a new country, even with the assistance of canal water, requires some capital as well as considerable agricultural skill and perseverance. Sir James Lyall feels sure that the project would fail, as similar projects have failed in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab, when tried under somewhat easier circumstances as regards colonization. Nor would Government be able to afford the expense of the elaborate direction and control proposed. Nor does His Honour think it fair or desirable that canal land, which is much wanted by better men, should be given to the members of a criminal tribe. At the same time, I am to request that you and the Deputy Commissioner will consider whether it would be practicable to transfer a number of the able-bodied landless Harnis with their consent, if, possible, to a reformatory settlement, to be established in the neighbourhood of the head-works of the projected Jhelum canal, with a view to their making their livelihood there by excavation work."

On inquires being made, it was found that only two men would consent to enter such a reformatory, and the consensus of opinion was that, if forcibly taken from their villages and put to this work, they would not do it nor settle down, but would resort to thieving in the new settlement, unless a severer form of restraint were placed upon them.

During the next decade, little seems to have been written of the Harnis although they came to notice prominently, at intervals, on account of the crime they committed. In 1887, the District Superintendent of Police, Ludhiana, reported that he had information that the 448 registered Harnis, then absent, were broken up in gangs of tens and twelves committing offences all over India; he heard they were in Bombay and a gang was apprehended and convicted in Ajmer. In 1891, fifty-four Ludhiana Harnis were arrested in Bombay and ten in Poona, and they were deported to Ludhiana. In 1893, eighteen of the tribe were again arrested in Bombay. In the two years 1891 and 1893, the relatives of the absent Harnis received, in money orders through the Jagraon Post Office, Rs. 1,940 and Rs. 2,000, sent from Bombay, the Deccan and the Hyderabad State. In 1892, it was ascertained that the Harnis were responsible for a large proportion of the burglaries committed in the central districts of the Punjab, from a third to half of the undetected offences in this area being attributed to them on account of the methods employed or implements found on the scenes of the crimes. In 1899, it was ascertained that, as in the case of other tribes, many Harnis had moved away from districts where they were registered and had settled in other places. It was found on inquiry, in 1901, that there were 286 Harnis in Gurdaspur and a few in two other districts and the Faridkot State. Eventually in 1902, orders were issued directing

that Harnis should be registered throughout the Province and their finger impressions taken. It was remarked :—

"They seem to be about the worst of the criminal tribes, being bold and violent in their crime and going far afield to commit it."

What may have been the immediate cause is not apparent, but from the year 1902, when the above remarks were written, the Harnis seem to have begun to improve in their conduct. Possibly the general registration throughout the Province brought finally to anchor many criminal Harnis, who had absented themselves from villages where the rules were in force and had settled in other places. In the Report of 1904 it was recorded that they "appear on the whole to be the best-behaved of all the proclaimed criminal tribes." Further signs of improvement were observed in 1905 when it was found that, in comparison to their numbers, they appeared to be the least criminal of the tribes registered under the Act. In 1906, the following note was made :—

"The Harnis and Baurias continue to show signs of improvement in several parts of the Province. In Sialkot and Hoshiarpur the Harnis have taken to agriculture as a means of livelihood and the Commissioner of the Jullundur Division writes :—

'It is the general opinion throughout the division that Harnis are gradually becoming settled on the land. The behaviour of the Ludhiana Harnis, however, still calls for the strictest surveillance.' "

In 1908, the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur granted passes for a year to several members of the tribe, and it was a satisfactory feature of the year's report that the Harnis were well spoken of in both the Eastern and Central Ranges. The following year, it was again remarked that they had "improved very much in their conduct" and in Hoshiarpur "the concession of giving them free passes has proved effective and has been beneficial to the tribe." The improvement continued in the years 1910 to 1912, during which many of the tribe took to leasing land from zamindars and growing vegetables. Six men were, with the sanction of the Inspector General of Police, enrolled in the police. In 1912, it was observed that "their one cry is insufficient land from which to earn their bread and there is some truth in this." That year, the Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, expressed himself in favour of the entire exemption of the tribe in his district, and the 32 members living in Ferozepore were also found quite harmless.

From 5th to 7th January, we visited the Harni villages of Tappar, Bodalwala, Bir Gagra, Mirpur and Gagra and interviewed the lambardars of Kiri in the Ludhiana district. The reputations of these villages vary very considerably from Bodalwala and Kiri, the well-behaved, to Tappar and Bir Gagra of evil fame, and the following comparative statement is interesting as furnishing, to a large extent, the cause of the difference :—

Village.	Total population of Harnis.	Acres of cultivated land per head of population.	Convictions in last ten years under	
			The Indian Penal Code.	The Criminal Tribes Act.
Bodalwala	374	1·5	*Nil.*	19
Kiri	326	1·2	*Nil.*	15
Tappar	444	·3	3	39
Bir Gagra	422	·7	9	52

Thus, it will be observed that the number of convictions under the Indian Penal Code and also under the Criminal Tribes Act is in close proportion to the quantity of land held by each community, but local inquiries also disclose other factors which have tended directly to the reclamation of

Bodalwala and Kiri. Bodalwala has been exceptionally fortunate in having as headmen, for three generations, three individuals of one family, who, in their early years, served in the army. The discipline which these ex-military men have instilled into the people is most remarkable, and in great contrast to the truculence observable in Tappar, only a mile away. The people of Bodalwala are presented to an officer, visiting the village, drawn up in military line, while he is conducted to seats, placed upon carpets on a raised platform in the middle of the settlement, by their aged chief Mehtab Khan, the son of Malang Khan. At a word from him, the people are seated and maintain absolute silence unless spoken to. At the end of the interview, Mehtab Khan dismisses his following to their houses and they leave in silence, while he conducts the visitor out of the village. Mehtab Khan is very highly spoken of by the police and in the neighbourhood, and there can be no doubt that his influence and authority among his people have been largely instrumental in procuring, for Bodalwala, the reputation of being one of the best behaved villages in the Ludhiana district. Besides cultivation, the people of this village have taken to work as *beldars* on the Ludhiana-Ferozepore road and on the railway. They work also in the Jagraon *mandi* and many of them grow and sell vegetables. Others trade in cattle, sheep and goats and hire out their carts. Others again engage in the making of bricks and in building. Twelve men are employed in the police. During the last few years, burglaries have occurred in Bodalwala and some cattle have been stolen, by outside thieves, probably belonging to Tappar, where the people despise the reformed Bodalwala community. Kiri, on the other hand, has all along been isolated from the other Harni villages in Ludhiana, as the people there belong to the "Gaunimar" section of the tribe. Their tradition is that their ancestors were concerned in the abduction of a woman of the tribe, named Gauni, and were out-casted in consequence. In order to recover their lost status, they conspired and slew the woman, but were not even then readmitted into the brotherhood and became known as "Gauni-mar," the slayers of Gauni. To this day, they are out-casted and intermarry only in the Gaunimar villages in Hoshiarpur. It is probable that the gulf thus created between Kiri and the other Harni villages of Ludhiana has tended to keep the Kiri community in a position of isolation and to bring them closer in touch with the Hoshiarpur Harnis, who have never given very much trouble. The people of Kiri are comparatively well off for land, they also engage in brick-making, vegetable growing, hiring out carts, and they own 100 ponies which they also ply on hire.

We are of opinion that Bodalwala and Kiri are ripe for preferential treatment and the local officers also agree that, after the possible removal of one or two undesirable individuals, these two villages might well be exempted from the operations of the Act, to serve as an object lesson to the less well-behaved communities.

THE GILOI BILOCHES.

Ethnology.

19. The Gilois are a branch of the Rind clan. Their presence in the Montgomery district is obviously ascribable to the settlement of Rinds, founded at Satghara by Mir Chakar in the beginning of the 16th century.

History.

20. They appear to have first attracted attention as habitual offenders in the early nineties and, in 1893, an application was submitted to Government to notify them under the Act. They were then living the life of graziers in a jungle, some ten miles from Montgomery, where they founded a kind of settlement, called Giloi, and acquired proprietary rights in 388 acres of land, only some 80 of which, however, they cultivated, according to the Deputy Commissioner, in a perfunctory manner and as a pretence to cover their real means of livelihood—crime. Their thieving operations were described by the Superintendent of Police, Montgomery, as follows:—

"They proceed on dark nights in gangs consisting of seven or eight men (a few mounted on camels and horses), dressed as fakirs and camp in the jungle, *khangahs* and *takias*, and live in places reserved for fakirs and proclaim themselves as "Kureshi fakirs." During the day, they

split up and go singly to villages, ostensibly to beg. When they notice a house devoid of people, they enter it and annex jewellery, clothes and other portable articles and prowl about, marking down the wealthy and well-to-do inhabitants of the village. They then return at night to their camp and, after hearing the news each has brought, plan a burglary on a large scale and carry it out successfully a few nights afterwards. If the proceeds of the burglary be jewellery and cash, they at once despatch it, in charge of one of their gang by rail, to Montgomery and from thence to their village at Giloi. If, however, on the other hand, the stolen property be cloth or other portable articles, they take it to their village on camels. The cloth, as a rule, is sewn between blankets or other kind of material, which looks like a covering for camels or horses. The gangs remain in their village on moonlight nights. These gangs proceed to the following districts on dark nights, when they commit burglaries and other crimes on a large scale in the manner given above, *viz.*, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Ferozepore, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujrat, Shahpur and in the following Native States:—Faridkot, Jammu, Patiala, Nabha and Bahawalpur."

In 1895, the population of the village of Giloi was 258 persons and, of the males, there were 80 who habitually went out on thieving excursions, accompanied by 9 boys, under training; 17 of the 80 men were, at that time, in jail. With the sanction of the Government of India, the Giloi Biloches of Giloi were brought under the Act in April 1895, and were registered the same year. In 1901, the whole community was transferred from Giloi to Chak No. 402 in Lyallpur and provided with 23½ squares of land which was admitted, shortly afterwards, to be insufficient. In 1903, they were provided with more land in Chak No. 602, bringing the allotment up to half a square per family. The land at their old home in Montgomery is, however, now also being brought under irrigation and they have the prospect of being extremely well off in the near future. Once placed on the land, the Gilois soon began to take to agriculture and the reports of the last ten years indicate a steady improvement in the conduct of the tribe.

We visited Chak No. 602 on 19th February 1914, and also saw the people of Chak No. 402. In the two villages there are 482 Gilois, of whom 130 are males over 12 years. During the last ten years, 28, or 21 per cent., of the males have been convicted under the Indian Penal Code and 26, or 20 per cent., under the Criminal Tribes Act; but in recent years, convictions have been growing less frequent, especially in Chak No. 602. It is a feature of the Gilois that they make no secret of their former criminal propensities, and they will freely discuss them with the visitor, recounting stories of the expeditions "in the past". They have, no doubt, such accounts to give "of the present", but there is reason to believe that they are growing fewer.

Recently thirty-seven families of Gilois, who emigrated from Montgomery some 50 or 60 years ago, according to their own account, returned from Kotli Shah Hussain, tahsil Phalia, in the Gujrat district, where they had been living under the name of Kureshis. These people are now staying at Chak No. 602 and, having no land, are without occupation and will probably give trouble in the near future. Of the 37 men, 17 have previous convictions. There are said to be 8 or 10 more families still absent in the Shahpur and Gujranwala districts, and they may likewise return to the tribe. It will be unfortunate should these new arrivals, who seem from their own accounts to have followed no regular means of livelihood in Gujrat, serve to retard the process of reformation of the remainder of the tribe. They are returning in the hope of getting land, but their antecedents would show that their influence in the colony will be for the worse. They would, therefore, appear to be fit for employment on some industry, such as we shall propose hereafter for tribes in the elementary stages of reformation.

THE BHATS.

21. The Bhats are Muhammadan by religion and reside in several villages in the Sialkot district, the principal being Chak Lala and Jhammat. According to Sir Denzil Ibbetson, they migrated to Sialkot from Jhang, but he doubted their being true Bhats, as that caste was of Brahman origin and was found mostly to belong to the Hindu religion. Muhammadan Bhats are, however, to be found in other districts as well as Sialkot, and the fact that Ethnology.

those of Sialkot are Muhammadans is not sufficient to disprove their origin as Bhats. The Sialkot Bhats themselves have now started a theory that they are really Bhattis and not Bhats and that they came originally from Pindi Bhattian instead of Jhang. They allege that the village Chak Lala was founded after a village of similar name in the Rawalpindi district and that their present title of Bhat is due to their ancestor Lala, who was a notorious robber, having been given the nickname of Bhat. This notion is hardly worth consideration. The term Bhatti has nowhere been abbreviated into Bhat, and the latter appellation can by no stretch of imagination be made applicable to a robber. There is nothing improbable in these people being, not true Brahman Bhats but, Bhats of a lower order, with a mixed origin, who embraced Islam at an early date and settled down as an isolated group, gradually adopting theft as a profitable calling when their conversion put a stop to their customary dues from their *clientèle*. Lala and Jhammat, the two ancestors, founded the two villages where they now chiefly reside.

History.

22. The Bhats of the Sialkot district first came to notice in 1867, when they were placed under the surveillance prescribed by Circular No. 18 of 1856. Two years later, that Circular being declared illegal, the Bhats were emancipated from restrictions and remained so until Mr. Warburton, Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, directed attention to them in 1893. It appears that in 1878, Mr. Perkins, Commissioner of the Amritsar Division, had expressed the opinion that the Bhats were professional poisoners, but Mr. Warburton, while not subscribing to this contention, proved, by statistics of convictions, that they were habitually given to the perpetration of thefts and burglaries in the surrounding districts and, although the list he prepared was probably incomplete, it showed that 47 such offences had been proved against Bhats in nine districts other than Sialkot.

In 1893, the Bhat population of Jhammat and Chak Lala aggregated 174 males and 288 women and children. They had, for their support, 1,013 acres of cultivation and, calculating on the produce of the land and allowing Rs. 3 per mensem for the support of each person, Mr. Warburton showed that there was a quinquennial deficit of Rs. 4,772 and Rs. 36,496, respectively, in Jhammat and Chak Lala, in the amount needed for the support of the tribe, which, he considered, must of necessity be raised by unlawful means. Of the 174 males, on an average 36, or 20 per cent., were always absent from their homes and 134, or 77 per cent., of them had convictions against them for various offences. Seventy males had been convicted once, 15 twice and 49 three times and over. In sending up his proposals for the notification of the tribe, Mr. Warburton quoted the following account of the Bhats written by Mr. Christie, Superintendent of Police, in 1883 :—

"The Bhats are not registered under the Criminal Tribes Act, but their local notoriety as expert criminals entitles them to special mention. They are Muhammadans and claim to be an offshoot of Bhatti Rajputs. They are proprietors of villages Jhammat and Ratta in Station Sambrial and Chak Lala in Station Philloura. As a community they are agriculturists, prosperous and aggressive, having acquired lands in neighbouring villages. They are much given to robbing vehicles in transit, stealing from travellers, snatching jewels from persons asleep, enticing children with toys and sweets and removing their ornaments, and occasionally even attempt house-breaking. These people are adepts at assuming disguises as mendicants and each revels in a string of false names. They have hitherto shown a tendency to limit their operations to neighbouring districts, but, with railway facilities, they may be tempted to take longer flights. It was customary to maintain a constable in each of the Bhat villages to watch and report their movements, but the practice was discontinued at the close of 1882. In September, a party of six were entrapped returning home from one of their customary rambles. With them were found several teetotums, rattles and *damris* which were used as baits to entice children, tiny lancets for ripping pockets, and a quantity of broken and pounded silver ornaments."

The Bhats of Jhammat and Chak Lala were declared a criminal tribe, with the consent of the Government of India, in February 1895. Instructions to apply the rules were issued the same year and were subsequently supplemented by orders that the rules were to be so worked as to allow of members of the tribe cultivating as tenants in neighbouring villages. Before the time to

prepare the register came, 46 families belonging to Chak Lala, receiving intimation of the impending registration, left their houses and emigrated elsewhere. In 1899, the Bhats of Jhammat were reported to be in prosperous circumstances, nearly all owning land. None were in jail and none were absent. Those of Chak Lala were not in such favourable circumstances as their brethren in Jhammat. The village lands were insufficient and only one man had taken to cultivation in a neighbouring village. Of the 84 males on the register, 11 were in jail and 23 were absent. In recent years, the Bhats have been periodically reported on and the remarks have usually been of an unfavourable character, especially in regard to those of Chak Lala.

We visited Chak Lala on 18th December. The total male population is 157, of whom 116 are borne on the register, 28 being exempted. The absentees number 13, of whom 3 disappeared while exempted. Eleven men are in jail, 9 for breach of the rules and 2 for burglary committed in the Sialkot district. During the last ten years, 29 men, or 25 per cent., have been convicted under the Indian Penal Code and 66, or 56 per cent, under the Criminal Tribes Act. The area of land cultivated by the Bhats is 161 acres, which works out to a little over half an acre per head of population. The land is watered from 10 wells and is held in proprietary right by the people, but it is clearly insufficient to support their number. They follow practically no other industries and yet seem to be fairly prosperous. Of the adults, three are educated and four boys attend the school at Chobara, a mile away. The village furnishes another instance of the unsatisfactory results produced by collecting a tribe together on insufficient land, in a place where no other form of occupation presents itself.

THE MINAS.

23. The Minas claim a Rajput origin and Sir Denzil Ibbetson considered the claim to be well-founded. The word Mina is probably derived from Sanskrit *min*, meaning a fish. The theory that it was connected with the word *menha* or *mehna*, to taunt, is untenable and was not accepted by Sir Denzil. During our investigations, we were told by a Mina that his caste was descended from an irregular alliance between a Rajput and a *Mini*, fisherwoman. This would explain their adoption of the custom of *karewa* or widow-marriage, usually practised among the lower classes. The Minas, who are Hindus, now form a separate tribe by themselves, but they are thought to be connected with the Meos who, although professing the Muhammadan religion, still observe many Hindu festivals and have regard for the same village deities, as the Hindu zamindars. The Minas are found throughout Rajputana in considerable numbers, but in the Punjab they are confined to the south-east corner of the Province, with Shahjahanpur, an island of British territory in the Alwar State, as their head-quarters. These residents of British territory are said to have originally come from Mandawar in the Alwar State. The Minas have played an important part in the history of the Rajputana States in the past, and it would seem probable that their particular class of crime, in the form of organized expeditions for dakaiti on an extensive scale by large bands of armed and mounted men, may have been a remnant of the period when the tribe partook in the forays and irregular incursions in Rajputana, made by one ruling chief into the territories, for the time being, of another. Ethnology.

24. The history of the Minas of Gurgaon is perhaps the most interesting and instructive of all the tribes which have been proclaimed criminal in the Punjab. They were certainly amongst the most violent and enterprising dakaits and marauders of India in the sixties and seventies, being away from home several months at a time, travelling great distances on camels and effecting amazing captures of treasure and property by well-conceived plans, skilfully and boldly carried through. Half a century has passed and the people of Shahjahanpur, the old raiding centre, now exhibit a degree of reform which is probably unequalled by any other criminal tribe. History.

The following interesting account of Shahjahanpur, before 1870, was written by Colonel Hervey, the General Superintendent of Operations for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dakaiti:—

"It is a fact that Shahjahanpur is inhabited almost exclusively by Mina plunderers. As many as 500 adult Minas have habitation there, and distant robbery is notoriously their profession and their livelihood. Their houses are built of substantial masonry, some with upper stories to them and with underground passages. Fine wells have been constructed at their own expense. The land they cultivate, and for which they duly pay revenue, yields no more than would be sufficient for a fourth part only of the population, men, women and children combined, which the number of their adult males represents. They maintain fleet camels, some of which may be found secreted in their premises in readiness for an expedition, or but now arrived from some unknown raid. Cows, buffaloes and goats are among their possessions, they live amid abundance, and they want for nothing. Their festivals of marriage and other ceremony, whether of joy or solemnity, are attended with lavish expenditure. Flesh is their food and liquor their potation. Trinkets of gold and silver and fine dresses adorn, on pleasure days, the persons of their females; gold and coral necklaces, ear-rings and good turbans, are the display of the men; bracelets and frontlets, studded with various coins, the ornaments and party-coloured garments the apparel of their children; music and every requirement without stint form the accompaniments of their feasts; revelling and quarrel mark their termination. Plenty they have, plenty they spend and plenty they bestow, and there is no end to their charity. Ordinary people give alms to those who petition for it at their doors, but the charity of the Minas of Shahjahanpur is *sadda-bart;* it is perpetual, and invites all comers to partake of it. Corn and provisions are liberally distributed to those who seek for them. A village grain-dealer is their purveyor by appointment, his *docan* or shop is the granary from where all may be freely obtained, and a *sadh* or holy man is their almoner; and with all this profusion and munificence, the men have no ostensible occupation, no means from which to meet so much extravagance. The ground they till would scarcely sustain ten families, much less so many; the place has an appearance of neglect and desertion from the continued, and sometimes prolonged, absence of the men. A few men only are to be seen as if idly sauntering about, some women drawing at the wells, or children seemingly at play at dispersed spots, but a curious observer may detect that a close intelligence is withal the part of them all; that the eye is restless and watchful, the child is signalling something, the woman's song is the voice of warning, whether by word or intonation, and that the man's hang-dog look cloaks quick furtive glances which connect him with persons who are peering through the high thorn fences of the cattle-yards which project from each dwelling, or with others who flit from window to window or terrace of their labyrinthine and subterranean abodes; and if a muster should be called, the rolls are found to be glaringly blank, and that *French leave* has been abundantly taken. What does all this mean, and from where do these men really obtain their livelihood, and with so much to spare?"

The reply to the query at the end of the quotation is furnished in the succeeding paragraphs of the report by a long list of marauding excursions, characterized by astonishing audacity and described in much picturesque detail. We learn of the Shahjahanpur Minas associating with "a highly favoured courtier, the near attendant of a sovereign" and five men belonging to a camel *Rissalah* and with their assistance commiting a dakaiti in which the plunder consisted of silver in bricks, gold coins, corals and other property valued at Rs. 27,000. In another case, which occurred near Rewari in 1866, six dakaits mounted on camels and armed with muskets surrounded a convoy, knocked the plaintiffs off their camel, beat them with the butt-end of their muskets and carried off the camel, the money and all their clothes. The tracks were followed to Shahjahanpur where the stolen camel and Rs. 2,948, in cash in a bag, were recovered by the police. In a third case property valued at two lakhs of rupees consisting of "specie, bullion, gold venetions and medallions of pure gold," laden on six camels, were successfully taken and brought home. In another, five treasure carriers were relieved of their burden valued at Rs. 79,000. In yet another case, 90,000 rupees worth of gold mohurs and precious stones were carried off on three camels after a sword fight, but in this case the gang of 13 men was caught in Jaipur and imprisoned. On another occasion, in 1864, one Hursahai, Jemadar, a noted Mina leader, with a gang, followed a convoy with a quantity of treasure laden on eight camels and plundered it near Raipur in Jodhpur territory, securing Rs. 38,803 in cash. Unfortunately for Hursahai and his companions, they were discovered and pursued as they were hastening with their plunder through Shekhawati, and they were compelled to abandon the camels on which their booty was laden and flee away on their own fast animals. About the same time three gangs of Minas, numbering 57 men, were arrested in Ajmer on their way to exploit country further south.

With a view to check the Minas in excursions of this nature, a system of roll-call was instituted in Shahjahanpur under an executive order. This

system carried with it no authority and was not even covered by the Judicial Commissioner's Circular No. 18 of 1856, which affected the Sansis, Pakhiwars, Harnis and Baurias only. Still it was claimed by the Inspector General of Police that:—"In the Gurgaon district preventive measures have been well enforced against the Minas. The Minas now present in our territory *cannot possibly leave it* without their absence being *at once detected and reported.*" It was to disprove this complacent idea that the Superintendent of the Thaggee and Dakaiti operations wrote his description of Shahjahanpur and then proceeded to cite many concrete instances of gangs plundering, and in fact being arrested, far from home, while being shown in the roll-calls at Shahjahanpur as present at their homes.

In 1876, the Judicial Commissioner's Circular No. 18 of 1856, as applied to the Sansis, Harnis and Baurias was pronounced by the Chief Court to be illegal and this declaration carried away with it, at the same time, the executive order and system of roll-call in force at Shahjahanpur. With regard to this order for the supervision of the Minas, the Inspector General of Police wrote in January 1871:—

"We never had any legal right to punish these men for absence from their homes or for non-attendance at roll-calls. The roll-calls were held under an executive order which, of course, had no binding effect. In consequence of a strong remonstrance from Lieutenant-Colonel Younghusband, then Inspector General of Police in Berar, supported by the Government of India, we were ordered to check the marauding excursions of the Minas. There were still officers who believed in the authority of executive orders, and as long as we had one of this class as Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon, disobedient Minas were punished under Section 183, Indian Penal Code. So it happened (and no doubt was so at the time the reports Colonel Hervey quotes were written) that during certain periods the repression was all that could be wished, and then a change of officers would upset things. It was impossible to maintain surveillance over the Minas after the espionage of the other criminal tribes was declared illegal; if the one were illegal, the other was more so."

The consternation of district officers at suddenly finding themselves disarmed of even the poor weapons they had been employing against the marauding tribes, is reflected in the reports and correspondence of the time, but the deficiency was soon supplied by the passing of the new Act. In the interval of nine years which elapsed before the Act and rules framed thereunder were brought into operation, the Minas reaped a rich harvest and much was written of their operations. The Inspector General of Police repeated what he had written as Superintendent of the Thaggee and Dakaiti Department, as follows:—

"These famed robbers rarely, if ever, commit any depredations near home, but yearly, in the autumn, large numbers of them set off in bands, varying in strength from eight to thirty men and spread over the North-Western Provinces, the Central Provinces, the Nizam's Dominion and the Deccan. They leave their homes solely for plunder, take no service, except when members under feigned names do so to obtain information. After a successful hit, the gang returns home by long forced marches. They are the most skilful burglars and dacoits known, never engaging in petty cases; rarely taking anything but gold, silver and jewels."

The Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon, in addressing Government in August 1869, wrote:—

"In several villages of the Gurgaon district, but noticeably in Shahjahanpur, the Mina class has established a large colony, which is divided into groups called *Thoks*. Each *Thok* is under a headman, *Thokdar*, who directs the operations of his associates and advances them money when proceeding on their predatory excursions, and on their return receives one man's share of the plunder. The *Thokdar* never leaves the village, nor appears in any dakaiti. The Minas extend their depredations to all parts of India south of Delhi, even so far down as the Deccan and the Madras Presidency, but the chief scene of their operations is foreign territory."

It may be mentioned that these *Thokdars* were the direct descendants of the ten sons of two brothers, Narain and Lakhwa, the sons of Chitru, who originally came from Mandawar in the Alwar State, and founded the Mina colony at Shahjahanpur. There are at the present day eight *Thokdars*, two families having died out.

In 1871, the depredations of the Minas living in the Alwar State came to the notice of Captain Cadell, Political Agent, who had "good ground to

believe that several Alwar Minas, who were engaged in the great Kadupoor dacoities in the Delhi district, have taken refuge in Bawal" in the Nabha State. The Thaggee and Dakaiti Department also established the criminal associations of the Minas of Shahjahanpur with those of the Alwar and Jaipur States by arresting them in company, in large gangs, in the south. This department was particularly active from 1870 onwards in connection with the Minas and, by means of spies and informers, succeeded in following up large gangs as they set out on their marauding excursions, locating them in disguise and frequently arresting them and bringing home to them the offences which they committed.

The reports, written on these operations, moved the Government of India to address the Punjab Government in 1872, regarding measures for the surveillance of the Minas, and inquiries were begun in the Gurgaon district. It was found that there were 847 Minas living in 12 villages, and that the majority of them resided at Shahjahanpur and Guraora. In the former village, 13 per cent. of the men cultivated land, while in the latter 96 per cent. followed this calling. The figures worked out to half an acre of cultivation per head of the Mina population and there was "a good deal left to be explained." The Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon recommended the wholesale deportation of the Minas from the district, and Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Cracroft, Commissioner, Delhi Division, in commenting on the proposal, wrote in 1872, what appeals to us in 1914. He said:—

"I feel bound, however, to express my humble opinion that the wholesale removal of a tribe from their homes is a very serious matter. The agency to be employed is a consideration worthy of the utmost attention. To engraft on the wild nature of criminals, habits of thought and thrift, to teach them trades and agriculture, to wean them from their criminal habits, to give them contentment under restraint, to educate their children and gradually train them to a different mode of life and constantly to attend to all their wants, are things which require, in the administration, undivided attention, consummate tact and unflagging zeal and sympathy. *It is all very* well to transplant the tribe, but how is provision to be made for supervision? The average Deputy Commissioner finds his judicial work alone quite sufficient to extinguish any desire for further effort and, though pressure may be brought to bear on him for this and a hundred other purposes, he will scarcely nurse the outcast with much love. If haply an officer be found, who takes an interest in the measure and devotes such time, as he can with difficulty spare, to crown it with success, it is more than likely that he will be removed to another district, or go on leave before a few months are over, leaving the colony to neglect and ultimate ruin."

Curiously enough, an officer was found ten years later in Mr. Christie, District Superintendent of Police, who took a very active interest in the Minas of Shahjahanpur and sowed the seeds of the reformation which has been going on there ever since. But that time was yet to come and, in May 1872, "a grand dakaiti" was committed in Mulkhera by the Minas of Shahjahanpur and Alwar, mostly of the former. It was described as follows:—

"They attacked 14 Marwaris escorting private treasure in the Jhalrapatan territory, and carried off, it is reported, about Rs. 50,000 of silver, mostly in bullion, including 12 immense ingots of silver, each ingot requiring two or three men to lift it. Both parties were armed and blood was shed on both sides One camel with two ingots of silver was abandoned by the Minas about 60 *kos* on this side of the river Chambal, where the turnpike people stopped it, and the two Minas who were with it abandoned it and fled. The rest of the party was allowed to pass on, paying down handsomely to the turnpike peons. The greater portion of the gang returned to Shahjahanpur about 15 or 20 days ago with three camels. The Minas of Shahjahanpur numbered about 46."

So reported the Assistant Superintendent of Police of Gurgaon after investigation at Shahjahanpur, but the offenders had been apprised of his advent and had taken refuge in the adjoining Native States. Ultimately, ten of the Shahjahanpur Minas, concerned in this excursion, were arrested and sentenced, three to death and the remainder to transportation for life, with the exception of one who turned approver.

It is probable that the Minas of Gurgaon would have been brought under the Act at this time, but the Punjab Government considered that the restrictions should not be applied until arrangements had been completed for

moving the tribe from the border of Rajputana and for simultaneously registering the tribe in the Native States. The Financial Commissioner was asked to select, in consultation with the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, a suitable place, some distance from the Rajputana frontier, for establishing a reformatory for all the Minas residing in the Gurgaon District. He replied that there was Government waste land, capable of irrigation by canals, in the Shahpur district and suggested the location of the Minas there, where they could be employed at first in making the canals.

In October 1872, the Government of India, on the suggestion of the Punjab Government, addressed the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, regarding measures to control the Minas of Alwar and Jaipur and, by April 1873, rules were drawn up in both the States, which were more drastic than those sanctioned in the Punjab and provided for the disarming of all Minas who were not employed as chowkidars, the forbidding of their keeping or hiring horses or camels and the expulsion of families of absentees from the States, etc. The arms and animals owned by them were to be secured at once and "Minas who were habitually drunkards were to have their names entered in a list, to be framed in every thana, in order that they may be particularly looked after."

In the Alwar State, these rules were "worked with much energy and skill by the Political Agent, so that the bad characters amongst the Alwar Minas generally left the Alwar territory and settled in other States." These rules and the working thereof in the States elicited considerable criticism in the Punjab.

In July 1873, a Committee, consisting of the Inspector General of Police, the Inspector General of Prisons and a Deputy Commissioner, was appointed by the Punjab Government for the purpose of formulating proposals, estimates and rules for the proposed Mina reformatory. The Committee submitted in August detailed proposals, which were summed up thus in paragraph 5 of the covering letter :—

"The Committee consider that to remove the Minas from Gurgaon to the settlement in Shahpur, to start them with adequate shelter, tools, agricultural implements and house-hold necessaries, to maintain them for one year and to provide suitable establishment to control and work them, will cost Rs. 1,12,254 as per detailed estimate shown in the appendix."

For two years, this proposal to form a Mina colony in Shahpur continued to develop. In April 1875, however, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor abandoned the measure as there were no funds to pay for it, but the Punjab Government applied to the Government of India, the same year, to declare the tribe criminal under the Act. The reasons for this action are contained in 178 pages of printed matter and include two statements, prepared by the Thaggee and Dakaiti Department, dealing with 142 dakaities of the boldest possible description, in which the plunder secured aggregated no less than Rs. 40,90,739. These 142 offences represented only those in which certain approvers had themselves taken part or of which they were cognizant. The Minas were notified as a criminal tribe, with the sanction of the Goverment of India, in July 1876. In May 1877, six months after the application of the Criminal Tribes Act to the Minas, the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon visited Shahjahanpur and reported that 17 members had deserted their homes. He continued as follows :—

"The Minas still residing have a large number of milch cows and buffaloes, besides goats, ponies and camels, and there is an air of comfort about their homes which shows that thus far at least, they have not suffered much by the introduction of the rules. They were of course loud in their complaints of the oppression practised upon them, representing their condition as worse than that of prisoners in jail, whom Government feeds while in confinement, whereas they get no rations, and at the same time are prevented from going abroad to earn a livelihood. On receipt of Government Circular No. 12-1189, dated 26th March 1877, I had a translation made and issued instructions to the Minas and to the police in charge, regarding the provisions made by the rules for issuing permanent passes to persons of good character, revocable upon any proved abuse of the privilege; and if these rules be worked with care and discretion, I do not think any Mina, who is willing to labour, need complain of being prevented. But the fact is that nearly all are averse to labour, and hence feel the irksomeness of rules which prevent their return to the old courses."

In the year 1878, the Minas of Shahjahanpur gave considerable trouble, many not allowing themselves to be registered and others, who were registered, absenting themselves without leave and defying the police. Altogether 123 offenders were brought to trial, 76 under the Criminal Tribes Act and 47 under the Penal Code, and deterrent sentences were awarded. With regard to reformation, the Deputy Commissioner had not much to report; but said :—

"Two men have taken to honest pursuits and, after a sufficiently long probation, had their names struck off the register, and other two, who have been supplied with bullocks and ploughs by a loan from the District Committee, have begun to cultivate a part of the old encamping-ground, and are going on hopefully. A few more work as tenants or day labourers in the neighbourhood, but the main body still live in idleness and, in return for the assistance they render in disposing of stolen property, are supported by the more active and vigorous members of the tribe, who have either never been registered, or have been absent for long periods and eluded every effort made to capture them. The Mina tribe was brought under the provisions of the Act and located in Shahjahanpur without any suitable provision being made to enable them to earn an honest living, the only expense, incurred by Government in their behalf, being Rs. 1,000 for constructing a well on the encamping-around for irrigation purposes, and, as the town itself could not furnish employment for more than a small proportion, even if they were willing to labour, there is no alternative for them, but to starve, or to live by petty depredations in the neighbourhood or, lastly, to share in the plunder acquired by their absent relatives."

The following year, the Punjab Government entered into communication with the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, asking that the Native States should contribute towards offering rewards for the arrest of absentee Minas of Shahjahahpur plundering in the States, and as to the advisability of suggesting the exchange of Shahjahanpur for land of equivalent value adjoining the British border. As mentioned in paragraph 23, Shahjahanpur, with one or two other villages, constitutes even now an island of British territory surrounded by villages of the Alwar State, a situation of much strategical value to the plundering operation of the Minas in the olden days. All the States concerned agreed to contribute towards rewards for the arrest of Shahjahanpur Minas found in their territories, but the suggestion to exchange the island for other land was found to be impracticable. Government then urged on the officers of Gurgaon that "the importance of compelling this community of robbers to abandon their predatory mode of life does not appear to have been fully understood by the police and the district officers of the Gurgaon district, and the Lieutenant-Governor desires that the provisions of the criminal law, and especially those to which attention has now been drawn (sections 504 and 505 of the Criminal Procedure Code), may be rigorously enforced against them." On being asked for remarks on the situation, Colonel H. N. Miller, Inspector General of Police, wrote :—

"It is obvious that, if the Minas are to be restrained, and if Shahjahanpur is to cease to be a scandal to our administration, something in the way of deportation must be done. My proposal, however, is less radical than that formerly made, and the cost will be a fraction of the estimate framed in 1874. I suggest that we deport absentees without leave, when we take them, and their families, and that these persons be located in settlements close to existing prisons, where one management can look after them and the jails, and where the only expense will be to hut them. Take, for example, the Rupar works which will probably last 2½ to 3 years longer. I refrain from going into details, but my general principle is to deport only the most troublesome of the Minas, trusting to the effect of this measure on the rest."

These remarks are important as our proposals will be framed on much the same lines. The recommendation received no encouragement from Government, primarily because the Rupar canal works were of a temporary nature, whereas it was essential that measures, to be effectual, should be of a permanent character. In the same year, however, the Punjab Government approached the Government of India with another proposal. The Act had proved successful with the Sansis, but it was observed that—

"In the case of the Minas, the Criminal Tribes Act has been almost inoperative from circumstances which are detailed at length in the correspondence, but which are caused or influenced by the the situation of their principal village surrounded by foreign territory, and within which the rules and restrictions of the Act cannot be properly enforced. To remove this difficulty, it has been, and still is, in contemplation to transport the whole, or a portion, of this Mina community in Shahjahanpur to some distant location, where waste land may be given them, or where, as at the Thaggee Institution at Lahore, they may be under constant supervision. But the expense of the removal, which has hitherto opposed the carrying out of the project, may also

prevent its accomplishment in the future. The Lieutenant-Governor would accordingly propose as an experiment and without in any way pledging himself to its success, that such addition as the Supreme Government consider necessary may be made to the Criminal Tribes Act as will empower the Local Government to compel the able-bodied members of tribes, declared under the Act to be criminal, to enter a corps placed under strict military discipline, and be made to work, where and in whatever manner the Local Government may determine. Voluntary enlistment is not practical; it has been ascertained by inquiry from the Commissioner of the Amritsar Division, in which the Sansis chiefly reside, that not a tenth of the number of adults of an age suitable for military service, would be willing to accept voluntary military service, while there is every reason to believe that the Minas would not accept it at all."

During the next few years, as the restrictions of the Act came to be more closely enforced, it was increasingly evident that the means of honest livelihood, at the disposal of the Minas in Shahjahanpur, were insufficient for their support, and in March 1880, the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, in addressing Government on the subject, wrote :—

"As the Deputy Commissioner has in previous reports represented that adequate means of obtaining a livelihood do not at present exist, it must be felt as unusually oppressive to subject members of this criminal tribe to rigorous imprisonment in jail, for breach of rules which it is impossible for them to keep. I, therefore, earnestly recommend that some relaxation of the rules be permitted in the Police Department, or adequate provision be made for affording a means of subsistence to the men whose names appear on the register, other than the jail dietary, which appears to be almost their only resource at present."

In this pessimistic view, Government was unable to agree and, in replying to the Commissioner, wrote :—

"It is true that there is not sufficient land in the neighbourhood of Shahjahanpur to provide a field of labour for all the Minas living there; but there is no reason whatever to believe that they would find difficulty in obtaining employment if only they would work honestly and steadily. It is because they are notoriously inefficient and irregular in their work that they are distrusted as labourers by the zamindars. As a matter of fact, however, it is not to agriculture that the Minas look for subsistence. The main body of the tribe subsist by plunder, and are absent for long periods, while engaged in predatory expeditions. The few who remain behind at Shahjahanpur remain there only to look after the wives and families of those who are absent."

The correspondence on this subject brought forth a novel proposal for the solution of the whole problem of Shahjahanpur Writing on the subject, Colonel Baillee, Deputy Inspector General of Police, said :—

"I have suggested to the Magistrate of the district of Gurgaon that it would be a good plan to pull down the tenements of all absentee Minas instead of putting them up to auction, as is now done, when they are bought in at nominal prices by other members of the tribe. If the house of every Mina now absent, or who might in future absent himself, were pulled down, after confiscation under Sections 171, 172, Civil Procedure Code, there would soon cease to be sufficient house room for the families of these professional robbers, and they would have to take their families with them when they chose to leave Shahjahanpur on an excursion into foreign territory; the Mina colony of Shahjahanpur would in fact gradually disappear."

The suggestion appears to have been acted upon as will be noticed further on, but, by 1880, some improvement in the conduct of the tribe, forced on no doubt by want, appears to have set in, and the Commissioner of the Delhi Division reported as follows :—

"There was no conviction for a heinous offence in the Gurgaon district, and the numbers of Minas punished under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and the Special Act, respectively, were considerably below those of the previous year. This would appear to argue that a change for the better has taken place in the habits of the tribe. No new paths of life, or means of subsistence, have been opened to them. In default they are largely supported in jail. The punishments awarded are reported on, but the difficulties in dealing judicially with those cases have been already reported in this office No. 507, dated 11th March 1880, as no permanent or adequate means of subsistence, within the prescribed bounds, exist. In favourable seasons, there is not the same necessity for roving in search of subsistence. When driven by stress of starvation to leave bounds, the Minas and others are always, on return, arrested and sent up for trial by the police, but the treatment is different in different districts In Gurgaon, Mr. Roberts, under the idea that the Magistrate has no discretion in the matter, has them at once sentenced, whipped on second convictions, and put into jail. Mr. Benton merely requires security for future good behaviour for breaking bounds."

The following year, a still further fall in the number of convictions against the Minas was apparent, and it was reported that "even those men who are at large seem to avoid the organized expeditions which used to be so frequent formerly" and again "The steady pressure of severe rules, by which

their lives have been ordered for several consecutive years, is beginning to break down that high spirit of adventure which led them in quest of rapine and plunder many hundreds of miles from their homes."

It was at this stage, in 1882, that Mr. Christie, District Superintendent of Police, interested himself personally in the Minas of Shahjhanpur and obtained the co-operation of Mr. Macauliffe, the Deputy Commissioner, in making advances aggregating Rs. 1,000 to twenty selected Minas for bullocks and seed grain, in exempting a certain number of well-behaved men and in exempting from roll-call all the women. It was found at this time that the number of Minas in Shahjahanpur had dropped from 637 in 1876 to 236 in 1882. Of the difference of 401,165 had died or changed their residence with the consent of the district officers and the other 236 were absent without leave, the probability being that they had taken up their abode in various Native States. There were also 159 Minas, scattered over nine villages, in the Rewari tahsil. Of these, 128 were getting an honest living by tilling land and the entire male Mina population of Guraora, numbering 77, had given up their old habits and taken to agriculture. Arguing from the analogy of the reformation of these small isolated communities, the Deputy Commissioner suggested that the remaining 236 Minas of Shahjahanpur should be broken up into small bodies and distributed amongst other districts in the Punjab. Meanwhile Mr. Christie went among the people, made a house-to-house inspection and found them in circumstances requiring immediate relief. He encouraged and induced the Rajput zamindars in the neighbourhood to employ them in cultivation and to lease spare wells and land to them. He pressed for early distribution of the advance, sanctioned by Government, to twenty families to start them in cultivation. He discovered in the village two men, who had learnt the use of looms in jail, making durries. He developed the industry into a small factory and arranged for the sale of the durries which were made. He enlisted the son of the chief *Thokdar* in the police as a 3rd grade sergeant and selected ten other promising young men for the position of constable and carefully watched their instruction and training in the Police Lines. He advocated Minas being employed in the police in other districts, as watchmen in and outside Shahjahanpur, and also under the District Board, for such work as watering trees, repairing roads, etc. Turning to the children he made the experiment of selecting 25 boys and putting them to school, commending them to the special care of Misr Kidar Dat, the Head Master, and obtained the sanction of the District Board to the payment to these children of scholarships, varying from four annas to one rupee a month, to compensate the parents for the loss of their services. Finally, he offered to intercede on behalf of the absentees who returned home, with the result that seven men, who had been noted as absent for months, returned in a few hours, to be followed by many others. Finding the police guard, consisting of two head constables, 12 constables and 1 mounted constable, which it had been the custom to furnish from the reserve, ignorant of useful information about the Minas and considering its presence in the village no longer necessary, Mr. Christie ordered its withdrawal on his own responsibility. He considered that " an unobtrusive, undiscernible, thoroughly vigilant, watch is wanted, and not the irksome and galling rigor of a military sentinel." Agreeing with the general consensus of opinion that the Minas had experienced a sufficiently severe lesson and that the time for a relaxation of the punitive measures had arrived, Mr. Christie thought that the continuance of the guard a day longer was positively hurtful. In place of the guard, he augmented the ordinary police station staff by a few picked men, selected for their detective acumen. Mr. Christie further recommended the exemption, from restriction, of all men who were infirm, aged or feeble, all *boná fide* agriculturists and all who could show that, in addition to bearing a good character, they were honestly earning a livelihood, whether as labourers, servants, carriers, traders, artizans or weavers. He placed the holding of the roll-call exclusively in the hands of the Station House Officer and restricted it ordinarily to twice a week on any night and at any hour.

Apparently, Colonel Baillee's proposal to the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon to demolish the houses of absentees had borne fruit, for Mr. Christie wrote :—

"One of the punitive measures hitherto in force has been to attach and auction, or demolish the buildings of all Minas absenting themselves beyond a given time This rule has been very grievous. The figures given in paragraph 3 (regarding number of absentees) will afford an idea of the present condition of the Mina quarters. They are simply a mass of ruins, with isolated detached buildings here and there, few and far between. The auctioning or demolition of the buildings should be discontinued. If the men return in any number they will experience considerable difficulty in housing themselves."

Mr. Christie concluded his long and interesting report as follows :—

"In conclusion I beg to reiterate that I do not consider that the law is defective, but that the rigor with which it has been enforced, without provision for maintenance, has produced undesirable results. The operations of the Act by no means prevent, or hinder, the Minas from earning an honest living. The tribe is crushed and broken and has received a very severe lesson. I am sanguine that, if the proposals for help and relaxation of the punitive measures are sanctioned and carried out, the Shahjahanpur colony will again practically revive, and the Minas, though they may thieve, they will not revert to the habitual perpetration of heinous or violent crime. All systems depend for success more on the individuals entrusted with their working than upon any innate perfection of their own. So with the management of the Minas. For the successful working of the changes suggested, it is necessary:—(a) that there should invariably be a really good and able police officer, specially selected for his tact, conciliatory measures and detective ability, in charge of Shahjahanpur Police Station; (b) that Shahjahanpur should be visited by some European officer at least once a month; if oftener so much the better. I consider that the future condition of the colony and the permanent reformation of the Minas will depend, in a very great measure, upon the frequency and usefulness of such visits; and (c) that all help, whether in cash, land, materials or otherwise, should be given direct by the district officers and not through native agency. This practice will be appreciated by the Minas and afford satisfaction to the officers concerned. It will make the colony feel that Government interest in watching the tribe and caring for its welfare has not died out."

In forwarding Mr. Christie's report to Government, the Inspector General of Police, Colonel Bamfield, offered certain criticisms of the action taken and recommendations made by him, but concluded with the following remark :—

"Mr. Christie's report, I think, shows that he will take a personal and special interest in the endeavour to reclaim the Minas and both Major Ewart, the Deputy Inspector General, and myself will carefully watch the results of his measures."

In the Government Review of the Working of the Criminal Tribes Act during 1882, it was recorded of the Minas that—

"The case of this tribe afforded a striking illustration of the manner in which a too severe application of the Act defeated its object, and there was reason to believe that a considerable number of able-bodied Minas had emigrated elsewhere to obtain opportunities for practising their hereditary professions of dacoity and robbery. A special report on the subject was called for by the Lieutenant-Governor. After some correspondence, it was decided that employment should be found for the Minas, and several members of the tribe have been enlisted as constables or have been appointed village watchmen; others have been encouraged to engage in various industries or to take service under the District Committee in repairing roads or tending trees. While there could be little doubt that the enforcement of the Act had materially checked the criminal propensities of the Minas, it was clear that the manner in which the rules had been applied was somewhat harsh. The practice of demolishing the houses of absentees was stopped, the women of the tribe, to whom no crime can be attributed, were struck off the register, the names of all children were erased and the guard of police of the Mina settlement was withdrawn. At the same time grants of *takavi*, aggregating Rs 1,000, were made with the object of encouraging members of the tribe to take to agricultural pursuits, and inducements were held out to make them send their children to school. The reports that have been received show that the Minas have commenced to cultivate the lands that have been allotted to them, and that their condition is gradually improving. It would appear that proprietors of land in the neighbourhood of their settlement are commencing to place confidence in them and are willing to accept them as tenants. These results are mainly due to the careful management and patient supervision of the local officers, and to the interest they have taken in the reclamation of the tribe. The Lieutenant-Governor hopes that their efforts in this direction will be continued till the Minas, once bold and notorious robbers have completely settled down to a peaceable life."

In 1883, there were "fewer convictions amongst the Minas than in any previous year since the Act was applied to them," and mention was made of the increasing numbers engaged in agriculture, service and industries. In 1884, they "continued to behave well" and larger numbers sought honest

means of livelihood. The durrie and munj-matting factory, at this time transferred to and located at Gurgaon, supplied all the articles of the kind wanted in the district. From 1886 to 1889, the average number of absentees was under 4, as compared with 236 in 1882, but in the four years, 1890 to 1893, the average rose to 63. The Census of 1891 showed that there were 80 males of the tribe in Hissar, 34 in Rohtak, 27 in Delhi, a few in Ambala, Jullundur and Jhang, 137 in the Patiala State and 22 in Nabha territory The probability is that these people were mostly emigrants from Shahjahanpur, and it would seem that the exodus from that place, in the years 1890 to 1893, was due to a gradual fading of the interest aroused in the tribe by Mr. Christie. In 1902, such emigration of registered members of criminal tribes was considered generally by Government, resulting in the issue of orders for the registration of certain tribes throughout the Province, and the Minas, wherever found, were then brought under the Act. The same year, opinions were obtained, from districts in the Delhi division, regarding the suitability of the Minas for service in the police and, although there were some voices of dissent, the general verdict was in favour of the Minas, their enlistment in a camel corps being advocated by Mr. C. Brown, the Inspector General of Police. Sir Charles Rivaz favoured the suggestion, and the Government of India was addressed, but, after some correspondence, the proposal was, for various reasons and unfortunately for the Minas, rejected.

In the latter half of the nineties, the Minas evinced an increasing tendency to settle down to honest livelihood. They were taken on more freely in the police and other departments, and were more extensively employed as chaukidars and in other ways. The number of persons absent slowly but steadily decreased, while the number of boys attending the school increased. With this change for the better in the conduct of the tribe, official attention has been directed less towards them and, with the exception of short paragraphs in the annual reports, recording the steady improvement from year to year, little of interest has been written about them in recent years.

After this interlude, it is interesting to glance at the tribe again. We visited Shahjahanpur on 12th January and Khandeora, another village in the island of British territory inhabited by Minas, on 13th January. The population of the two villages is given below:—

	Total.	Males.	Women.	Children.	Non-exempted.	Exempted.
Shahjahanpur	521	223	180	118	212	11
Khandeora	46	25	11	10	24	2
Total ...	567	248	191	128	236	13

The convictions obtained against the Minas, during the last ten years, are as follows:—

	Indian Penal Code.	Per cent. on male population.	Criminal Tribes Act.	Per cent. on male population.	Absent without leave.	Per cent. on male population.
Shahjahanpur	22	10	41	17	14	6
Khandeora	2	8	4	16	1	4
Total ...	24	9·6	45	18	15	6

Speaking roughly then, of these 567 people, an average of 2·4 men have been convicted per annum under the Indian Penal Code and 4·5 under the Criminal Tribes Act during the last ten years. Of the 14 men, shown as absent from Shahjahanpur, the people avow that 8 who really belonged to Native States are dead, leaving 6 who have been away many years. Of the 223 males in Shahjahanpur, no less than 103 are employed in service, 57 in the police and the remainder in other departments such as the Public Works, Army, Postal, Educational. Besides these men now in employment, there are two others on pension and six who were in service, but who left, three resigning and three being dismissed, one for theft and the other two for corruption. There are also two other men, who were school masters, but who came under reduction. One of them was offered a teacher's appointment in the Montgomery district on the spot and, having accepted it, has been appointed. The other has also been offered a post in the Montgomery district. The Minas, employed in service, are totally exempted until they leave it and return home, and they are given leave freely to seek for service. Of the total cultivated area of 1,965 acres in Shahjahanpur, 127 acres are cultivated by Minas, who occupy 31 holdings, paying Re. 1-4-0 cash rent per acre. In addition, there are 30 acres of Government land cultivated by Minas, for which they pay Re. 0-9-6 per acre. The people also engage in other kinds of work such as thatching houses, tending cattle, cutting grass and in odd jobs about the village.

Of the 120 boys reading in the Primary School at Shahjahanpur, 50 are Minas, several of them over the age of twelve. The District Board now pays scholarships to these lads at rates varying between Re. 1 and Rs. 2 per mensem, according to the class to which the boys belong, the rates having been raised since the system was first introduced. Books are also supplied free. The 50 Mina boys represent practically the whole strength of boys of the tribe of a school-going age in the village, the total number of boys of all ages being only 80.

An inspection of the village shows that a vast change has come over the people in the last 40 or 50 years. There are still in evidence a few of the old *pakka* built houses, some of which appear to have been fortified, being built in the form of a square with loop-holes for musketry along the battlements. Some are double-storied with handsome arches and ornamentation, speaking of luxury and wealth. Near by these houses is to be seen a *baoli*, or masonry well, adjoining a swimming bath and a long masonry trough for watering cattle. To the *baoli* is attached a *pakka* built rest-house of the old fashion for the accommodation of visitors and travellers.

Side by side with these indications of lavish expenditure in the past may be seen the modern dwellings, consisting of mud walls with thatched roofs, but the people appear, nevertheless, to be fairly well off and are well-nourished. The women and children wear some jewellery and the people possess cattle. They appear to have sufficient to live upon, and this is doubtless due to nearly one-half of the men being employed in service, but there are still complaints of insufficient means of livelihood. It is generally admitted in the neighbourhood that the Minas are largely reformed in character; complaints of their thieving are few but have not altogether ceased.

The 46 Minas, living in Khandeora, went there from Shahjahanpur 45 years ago, and they form but a small portion of the population which numbers about 1,000. They own no land, but cultivate some 28 acres as tenants-at-will, in 14 holdings. They own 71 head of cattle and make a living by breeding buffaloes and goats and selling ghee and the young animals. Three men are employed in the police and four have served in various capacities and come back, three of them being removed for misconduct. There is no school in the village and only three Minas are educated. These Khandeora people seem fairly well-behaved but not so advanced as their brethren in Shahjahanpur, where the school has undoubtedly been a great advantage.

THE TAGUS.

Ethnology.

25. The Tagus—more correctly the Tagas – are admittedly of Brahman origin. The term "taga" means foresaken or excommunicated. These people seem to be descended from some person, or persons excommunciated at some early date for having broken caste rules or for having taken to some degrading profession. Although they form a group by themselves and do not mix or inter-marry with non-Brahman castes, their observances of religious customs are lax, as perhaps is natural in an outcasted people. The Tagas, who are agriculturists and the Tagus, who are professional thieves, appear to have been in the same group at one time, and the Tagus are still known as Tagas amongst themselves. The group of Tagas, residing in certain villages of the Karnal district, apparently distinguished themselves for dexterity in thieving and so got severed from the other Tagas, coming to be known in official literature as Tagus and being still further distinguished by being proclaimed a criminal tribe, some thirty years ago.

History.

26. The Tagus first came to notice in 1879, when Mr. Stone, District Superintendent of Police, Karnal, submitted a report on the tribe, proposing that it should be brought under the Criminal Tribes Act. At that time, the tribe numbered 718, of whom 381 were males, and they resided in 12 villages, all in the Karnal district It was found that, of the male population above 15 years of age, 51 per cent. had been convicted of non-bailable offences, that 7 per cent. of the boys, between 5 and 15 years, also had convictions; and that 60 per cent of the adults, over 15 years of age, and 58 per cent. of youths, under 15 years, were absent; while 12 per cent. of the males were serving terms of imprisonment in various jails. Forty-six of the men had been convicted twice, 21 three times and 17 more than three times. Mr. Stone found that the families of Tagus had running accounts with certain banias, who supplied them readily with food and the necessaries of life and that, at intervals, on the return of the males from distant expeditions, large sums of money were credited to the accounts. According to some account books examined by Mr Stone, the Tagus owed these banias Rs 6,934, of which Rs. 1,172 had been paid It appeared, indeed, that the banias were wholesale receivers of stolen property and, in return for the plunder they received, they maintained the families of the absent thieves. Of the male population, 27 were said to have taken to agriculture and 13 to earn their livelihood by hiring out camels and carts, but Mr. Stone regarded this as a mere pretence, under cover of which their journeys were performed.

The Tagus were addicted at that time to the same class of crime in which they indulge, to a lesser extent, at the present day, *viz.*, thefts mostly in large assemblages of people, such as fairs and marriage processions. Such fairs as the Kurukshetra at Thanesar and the Kumbh at Hardwar occasioned thoroughly organized expeditions by the Tagus, and their habits in this respect became so well known that private individuals frequently hired them to attend marriages and fairs in order to keep their fellows from picking and stealing. A complete thieving party of Tagus, called a *jut*, consisted of two men known as *upràinda* and a boy styled *chawa*, and the three worked together, wandering through bazars and crowds on the watch for an opportunity.

In 1881, the Punjab Government requested the sanction of the Government of India to notify the Tagus as a criminal tribe, and this was accorded the same year. The rules were put into operation at once. By 1885, only 288 persons had been registered and no less than 111 were absent on expeditions of a "suspicious description". The Lieutenant-Governor considered that "more rigorous supervision in the case of habitual offenders, tempered with special inducements to adopt honest modes of livelihood, would be likely to improve the condition of the tribe". In the nineties, it was reported that the Tagus were to be found in other districts than Karnal and, on inquiry, it was discovered that there was an off-shoot of the tribe, known as Tagas, living both

in and outside the Karnal district but, as these Tagas were not given to crime, the Act was not extended to them. It appeared, however, at the Census of 1901, that the Tagus were to be found in Gurdaspur (79), Lahore (50) and Ferozepore (9), and it is probable that these people were emigrants from Karnal, being recorded there as absent. The following year, when Government considered the whole question of registration of criminal tribes, the Tagus were included in the category of those to be registered throughout the Province. What action was taken in the three districts, containing unregistered Tagus, is not clear, but the tribe has never been registered anywhere except in the Karnal district. In 1903, it was found that the Tagus of Karnal received assistance from members of the tribe living in the Saharanpur district, where they were not registered and that the absentees from Karnal were harboured there. A list of the absentees was supplied to the Superintendent of Police, Saharanpur, with a view to concerted action being taken to effect their capture, but the records do not show what success was achieved.

The reports in recent years may be summed up in the statement that the Tagus show no inclination to settle down to honest livelihood. In 1912, there were 238 Tagus registered in Karnal, of whom only 32 were exempted, 9 were in prison at the end of the year and 62 were absent without leave. The average number of convictions among the Tagus, during the past five years, works out to ·9 per cent. under the Penal Code and to 4 per cent. under the Criminal Tribes Act.

We were able to visit the villages of Padhana, Gangar and Ramba and to interview the Tagus of Bir Dhandari and Saunkra. Among the number of persons, annually reported as absent, are included individuals who have not been heard of far as long as 20 and 30 years, many of whom must be dead and others settled down elsewhere. In appearance, the Tagus are a miserable-looking lot. They are mostly in debt. Their conditions of life vary considerably in the different villages in which they live. In some places, the Tagus have land and in others none. In the former case, they have settled down and, in the latter, they continue their criminal pursuits.

The following table is interesting as showing the relationship of crime to occupation :—

Village.	Acres of cultivated land per head of population.	Per cent. convicted under Indian Penal Code during the last 10 years.	Per cent. convicted under Criminal Tribes Act during the last 10 years.
Gangar	7	*Nil.*	*Nil.*
Bir Badalwa	6	13	4
Saga	*Nil.*	42	?
Padhana	*Nil.*	8	25
Gondal	·5	20	33

It is significant that in Gangar, where the Tagus own sufficient land for their support, none of them have been convicted.

THE GUTKAS.

27. The Gutkas are a small sub-section of the Bhatti Jats and those residing in village Hudiara of the Lahore district, who have been declared a criminal tribe, are said to be descended from one Gurbakhsh Singh, a Sikh Jat, who earned the nick-name of Gutka (meaning "a collection of all that is bad") by his thieving propensities, before the annexation of the Punjab. Ethnology.

History.

28. The misconduct of the Gutkas, numbering only 27 adult males with women and children, came to notice in 1904, when they were reported as a "gang" suitable for treatment under the Criminal Tribes Act. Nine of the men had been convicted of theft, house-breaking or receiving stolen property, and eleven had, at various times, been placed on security for bad livelihood, twenty-two had been under suspicion at more or less frequent intervals for various crimes, and fifteen were under surveillance at the time. For three years previously, punitive police had been stationed in the village, with the only apparent result that members of the gang took to organized cattle-lifting in preference to the more ordinary forms of intra-mural crime. There was no excuse for the Gutkas resorting to professional crime as they held 33⅓ acres of land in proprietary right, in addition to a further holding of 11⅓ acres as tenants. The village of Hudiara is a large one, with a population of 5,000 souls and a cultivated area of 4,700 acres, the major portion of which is irrigated and is capable of supplying the Gutkas with ample means of livelihood. They were, accordingly, brought under the Act in October 1904, and 26 adult males were registered. Since then one man has been convicted under the Indian Penal Code and 16 for breach of the rules. The enforcement of the Act seems to have had a salutary effect in their case.

THE DHILLONS.

Ethnology.

29. Dhillon is a very large and widely distributed sub-caste of Jats.

History.

30. The small community of Dhillons, numbering 70 adult members residing in village Dhillon, was notified a criminal tribe and brought under the Act in 1906 on account of their habitually stealing cattle and dealing in them. The village had become a centre of *bhunga* operations. Of the 50 adult males, 17 had been convicted, and there were a large number of well-founded suspicions against other members of the tribe. As they owned 232 acres of land, there could be no valid excuse for their resorting to crime. After the issue of the notification declaring the community to be a criminal tribe, the Dhillons first petitioned for its cancellation and then persistently refused to attend for the preparation of the register. After the institution of some prosecutions under the rules, however, the registration was effected in 1908, but it was not until 1910 that they would permit their finger impressions to be taken. Since they were registered, only one man has been convicted under the Indian Penal Code, which seems to indicate that the community realise that their emancipation depends upon their good behaviour.

THE DHINWARS.

Brief account.

31. Dhinwar is derived from *dhiwar*, a Sanskrit word, meaning a fisherman. The Dhinwar, Jhinwar and Kahar are practically the same caste, all being attached to some functional group connected with water. They are either fishermen, or draw and carry water. In the Gurgaon district where the Dhinwars have been declared a criminal tribe, they form a distinctive group, separated from Jhinwars and Kahars, in consequence of their traditions of thieving. They have not yet been registered.

CLASS II.—CATTLE LIFTERS.

THE THARANAS AND BARS.

Ethnology.

32. The Tharanas and Bars are among the grazier tribes who occupied the Chenab *bar* prior to its being colonized. The name of the Tharanas is really "Tirhana," and they are the descendants of one Tahir. They include the Bahanas, descended from Baha. They claim to be Sials. The Bars say they are Bhattis, being descendants of the famous Dulla Bhatti, and that they originally came from the neighbourhood of Sirsa before the time of the Sikhs. They inter-marry with Bhattis and Kaliars of the same tract. According to them, the name "Bar" is a geographical term applied to them because of their residence in the *bar* or jungle tract.

33. Towards the end of the nineties, the two tribes were given 73½ squares of land in Chak No 269, Rakh Branch, and took up their residence thereon They gave so much trouble to the other colonists by systematically stealing their cattle and feeding their own animals on other peoples' crops, and so defied the canal officers by damaging embankments and grazing their herds in preserved rakhs, that, in March 1906, the authorities had no option but to recommend the application of the Criminal Tribes Act to the inhabitants of their Chak, known as Salooni. From 1902 to March 1906, no fewer than 70 offences were recorded against this village. The application was sanctioned, the same year, and 322 adult males were registered and their finger impressions taken. By 1908, an improvement was noticed in their behaviour, and they were reported as showing some signs of settling down. But as the result of complaints of the recklessness with which they drove their cattle into other peoples' fields and destroyed standing crops, a punitive police post was located in the village. That year, probably on account of the presence of the police in the village, convictions rose to 12, compared with 8 per cent. in the preceding year. In 1909, the convictions fell to 7 per cent. and the two tribes were generally regarded as better behaved, but the canal officers had constantly to complain of the damage they caused to embankments and of systematic trespass on the Rodu Koru Rakh. In June of that year, a number of Tharanas rode out fifteen miles to a village, in order to take forcible possession of a mare, and a free fight ensued with the villagers, in which one man of their party was killed. In 1910, the Superintendent of Police, Lyallpur, reported that the Bars and Tharanas had again given trouble, defying all authority, and the local authorities considered a proposal to remove them to the Ravi, where they would be pitted against their own kind. In the report for the year 1911, it was remarked of the Bars and Tharanas as follows:— History.

"They are reported to be going from bad to worse. They are thieves to a man and defy all authority. They keep large herds of cattle which are let loose in Government forests and on the lands of their neighbours. In spite of all the preventive measures that have been taken, they have not given up their old habits. They have ruined the main bank of the canal by continually driving their cattle across it to the Rodu Koroo Escape The Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, remarks:—'These complaints are true enough. The land allotted to them was insufficient and this gave grounds for the excuse that they could not live honestly and therefore must steal. The area has now been increased. Subsequently, they have again turned 500 cattle into the rakh and have assaulted the police.'"

In the case referred to by the Deputy Commissioner, the number of cattle was 2,000 and the attack on the police necessitated the shooting of one of the assailants by a Sub-Inspector of Police in self-defence. In 1912, the tribe continued to misbehave and two-thirds of their number were moved to villages Shadi and Khai on the Ravi, in order to split up the community and so weaken it, and also to get the majority of them away from the Rodu Koru Rakh, where they caused such great damage.

We visited Salooni on 22nd February 1914. There are 55 adult male Bars and 31 Tharanas in the village, all registered, of whom 5 of the former and 3 of the latter are exempted. Since registration in 1906, the following convictions have been recorded against the tribes :—

	Indian Penal Code.	*Crinl. Procedure Code.*	*Crinl. Tribes Act.*
Bars	27	3	20
Tharanas	11	*Nil.*	1
Total ...	38	3	21

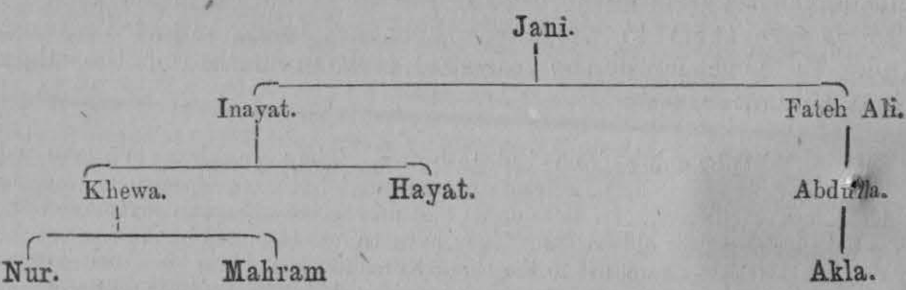
Of the convictions under the Penal Code, no less than 34 were for rioting and grievous hurt.

There are 31 Machhis and others residing in Salooni, who have also been registered, owing to their apparent association with the Tharanas and Bars. They are, however, non-criminal and inoffensive, and might be entirely exempted.

The Bars have been allotted 742 acres of land and the Tharanas 246 acres, on the scale of half a square per family, but there are four Bar families now in the village with no land at all. The two tribes, between them, own no less than 1,737 head of cattle, which are far in excess of their needs and are the principal cause of their being unable to fit themselves into the circumstances of their present surroundings. Their lands cannot produce sufficient fodder for these enormous herds, and the owners have, perforce, to seek the means of feeding them on other peoples' crops and in the Government preserves.

THE NUR MAHRAM AND AKLA HAYAT BILOCHES.

Ethnology. 34. The Nur Mahram and Akla Hayat are allied branches of the Jatoi clan of Biloches. They are descended from a common ancestor named Jalal Khan, who seems to have immigrated into the Jhang Bar from Kech Mekran about 1500 A.D. The present generation is about thirteenth in the line of descent. The branches appear to have separated from one Jani in the seventh generation after Jalal Khan; thus:—



The groups are the descendants of Nur, Mahram, Hayat and Akla, respectively, and are closely allied to one another.

History. 35. Before the colonization of the Chenab *bar*, these Biloches were ostensibly "camel graziers", but subsisted largely by cattle-theft, overawing the country by their depredations and following up any attempts to oppose them by violent reprisals. The result was that aggrieved parties seldom dared to resent their conduct or to make efforts to recover their property, except on payment. They lived in a constant state of warfare with the Bhattis of the Montgomery district, and were engaged in a constant succession of encounters and raids. On the extension of the Chenab canal to the Jhang district, grants of land were made to these Biloches in Chaks Nos. 215, 216, 172, 173, 175 and 183, at the rate of half a square per male child, which was the scale observed in the case of all the so-called "Jangli Tribes" of the *bar*. By 1904, these tribes had become a part of the new colony and the Superintendent of Police reported:—

> "I have already pointed out that the tracks of all stolen cattle are traced to the Chaks occupied by these Biloches, that the tracks of the thieves and burglars are also followed to these Chaks, that any day in the week four or five tracking parties of villagers may be met with in these Chaks following the tracks of men who have committed offences in their villages, that in dakaiti cases and robberies and other non-bailable offences, police enquiries have pointed to these Biloches as being the culprits, that stolen property of all sorts has been recovered from the Chaks, that several Biloches have been convicted, that from time immemorial these Biloches have been addicted to cattle-lifting, and that by repute they are cattle-lifters and robbers."

In the three previous years, 86 offences of various natures were committed in the six Chaks themselves. It was, at one time, proposed to confiscate the

land granted to the Biloches as a punishment for their misconduct, but better counsel prevailed and eventually they were brought under the Criminal Tribes Act in February 1905. The number of male adults registered was 527, and their finger impressions were taken. By the end of 1908, a satisfactory falling off in the convictions against the tribes was observed (3 per cent. against 8 per cent. in the preceding year), but the Nur Mahrams were continuously being complained of. The following year, it was remarked that the Nur Mahrams were notorious cattle-thieves and showed no signs of reforming, that they refused to reside in their Chaks and lived in cattle-sheds scattered about in the squares of land allotted to them and made use of these sheds to facilitate their thieving operations. The Akla Hayats, on the other hand, were reported to be settling down as agriculturists. The Nur Mahrams were again badly reported on in 1910, and forfeited 21 exemptions. In 1911, the complaints against the Nur Mahrams continued and they showed no signs of reforming. They appeared to be dropping back into their original propensity for crime ; and, in spite of all efforts in the way of encouragement or punishment, they seemed to be neglecting their cultivation and joining hands with the bad characters of the tract, in stealing and passing on cattle. Action under the Track Law was taken twice against the tribe that year, and 31 more exemptions were cancelled. In the last report on the working of the Criminal Tribes Act, the District Magistrate of Jhang wrote :—

"I agree with the general conclusions arrived at by the Superintendent of Police, *viz*., that the Sansis give little trouble, that the Akla Hayat Biloches are showing signs of improvement and that the Nur Mahram Biloches are hopeless. In my opinion, a grave administrative mistake was committed in settling these Biloches in homogeneous colonies. It is true that the villages are grouped round a police station which no doubt has some steadying effect, but the police have other work to do and cannot spend all their time watching the Biloch villages. In these villages every one, from the lambardar downwards, is in full sympathy with the thieves and, of course, not a scrap of evidence is forthcoming. On the contrary, every effort is made to conceal the offender and the stolen property. At the present moment, I have pending a complaint from the Superintendent of Police, Lyallpur, that one of his cases there has been completely ruined by the skill displayed by the lambardar of one of these Nur Mahram villages. As matters stand, any member of the community can commit offences with perfect impunity, provided he can make good his retreat as far as this group of villages. The Biloches have sufficient good land, but they are too lazy to cultivate it properly, and surrounded as they are by a community which favours the easier and more exciting livelihood by stealing, they can not, unnaturally, show no great disposition to settle down to the humdrum life of cultivators. Had they been split up into small parties and placed among good agriculturists, they might have derived some benefit from their environment. In any case, it would have been possible in such circumstances to have some check on their misdeeds and some hope of securing the punishment of offenders. During a recent tour in the neighbourhood of the Nur Mahram Chak, I have been struck by the unanimity with which every one, official and non-official, has complained both of the extent of the depredation of these marauders and also of the difficulty of securing a conviction. The remedy for this condition of things is not obvious. Track Law has obvious and serious limitations. The dismissal of lambardars is useless as any successor that can be appointed is tarred with the same brush. The demolition of cattle-sheds which, there is reason to believe, are chiefly used for the concealment of stolen property, even if it can be carried out, would probably be of little benefit. It is now too late to split up these nests of robbers, who are beginning to terrorise the whole neighbourhood. Nor does the situation appear likely to improve despite the opening of a primary school in the chief village. Owing to faulty methods of cultivations, the land will gradually become less and less productive and in measure as this occurs, crime may be expected to receive more and more attention."

Mr. C. J. Hallifax, Commissioner of the Division, noted on these remarks as follows :—

"The report on the Biloches, settled in the Jhang district, is worth serious consideration when the question of settling criminal tribes in the new colony comes up. Putting members of the tribe together in homogeneous villages appears to have little reformatory effect, and it is doubtful whether the policy of scattering small parties throughout villages, colonized by tribes of good character, can be adopted on a large scale. Under the conditions noted above the assistance of the Salvation Army may be requisitioned, as their methods have been productive of good results."

We investigated the condition of these tribes on 20th and 21st February 1914. Of the Nur Mahrams, 347 adult males were registered and, of these, 84 were exempt. During the last ten years, no less than 102, or 29 per cent. of the adult males have been convicted under the Indian Penal Code, 78 dealt with under the security sections and 49 under the Criminal Tribes Act. They hold

5,852 acres of land, of which 4,753 acres are cultivated, 4,417 acres being irrigated. This works out to nearly 8 acres of cultivation per head of population, so that it cannot be said of the Nur Mahrams that they are led into crime by lack of suitable provision for their maintenance. The cause lies elsewhere and is to be found largely in the enormous number of cattle they keep. In the three Chaks held by the Nur Mahrams, *i.e.*, Nos. 183, 215 and 216, there are no less than 3,190 animals. The number of buffaloes, cows, bullocks and camels which they maintain is out of all proportion to their needs and, to feed them, they have to damage their own and other peoples' crops. Animals are to be observed grazing about in the growing wheat and, it is alleged of the Biloches, that they chop up even their sugarcane in order to feed their cattle, for which they have more affection than for the land. Another cause of the criminality of these people lies in their indebtedness to various *banias*, living in Jhang and the surrounding villages. Mr. Vivian, Superintendent of Police, Jhang, who recently inquired into this matter, supplies figures, which he believes to be approximately accurate, disclosing an astonishing state of affairs which seems to require early investigation and adjustment. The residents of the three Chaks appear to be involved to the extent given in the margin.

		Rs.
Chak 215	... ...	43,795
„ 216	... ...	35,681
„ 185	... ...	30,225
Total	...	1,09,701

This enormous sum of money represents, for the most part, old debts bearing interest at such exorbitant rates as 38 per cent. per annum. At the harvests, the *banias* come to the Chaks and take what produce they can get in payment of the interest and the capital, but whether they get enough to materially reduce the capital is very doubtful. Meanwhile, the Biloches subsist on what grain they can gather before the *banias* arrive, but their mainstay in life are dairy produce and the proceeds of cattle-lifting. Latterly they have taken also to burglary.

The Akla Hayats inhabit Chaks Nos. 172, 173 and 175. There are 278 registered adult males, of whom 102 are exempt from the operations of the Act. During the last ten years 40, or 15 per cent., of the adult males have been convicted under the Indian Penal Code, 18 have been dealt with under the Criminal Procedure Code and 27 under the Criminal Tribes Act. The Akla Hayats hold 5,538 acres of land, of which 3,865 acres are irrigated, but only 3,130 cultivated. The cultivation works out to over 6 acres per head of population and they own no less than 2,096 head of cattle. The extent of their indebtedness is indicated in the margin.

		Rs.
Chak 172	... ...	13,500
„ 173	... ...	35,471
„ 175	... ...	31,735
Total	...	80,706

Chak No. 172 has the reputation of being the best behaved of all the six Biloch villages and, during the last ten years, has only contributed two convictions to the total under the Penal Code, and one to the record of convictions for breach of the rules.

The attitude of both the Nur Mahrams and the Akla Hayats, towards authority, leaves much to be desired. Physically a splendid race, accustomed through long generations to a wild and lawless existence in the jungles, they have not yet acquired that sense of discipline and respect for other people which is essential to their reformation and settlement. They have not taken kindly either to agriculture or to residing in villages, and prefer to live with their cattle in the sheds and erections which may be seen dotted about over their land. An attempt made recently to have these sheds demolished was unsuccessful. These *bar* tribes appear to require special treatment and effective supervision, as will be recommended in the proper place in this report.

THE DHER KHARALS AND VALANA JATS.

36. The Dhers are a clan of the Kharals and the Valanas are a sub-caste of the Jats. They have been treated together, owing to their association and common residence in a village called Bahuman, in the Sharakpur tahsil of the Gujranwala district. Ethnology.

37. No information is forthcoming regarding the origin and history of the Valana Jats, but the Kharals have long been known as a tribe with criminal propensities, and it is probable that the Valana Jats of Bahuman have been contaminated by them. The two communities were notified as criminal tribes in 1907. It was reported at the time that of 64 male Dher Kharals, the names of 53, and of the 23 male Valana Jats, the names of 21 were on the police registers, and it was represented that there was not a single man in Bahuman who was not interested in cattle-theft. They were described as going out in gangs from 7 to 20 strong, armed with stout sticks which they used without hesitation, attacking the men in charge of cattle and rounding up and driving off whole herds of animals. They despised the idea of theft by stealth and operated openly, with violence, to procure 15 or 20 animals in a single venture. Occasions were known where they tied up the keepers of cattle, before driving off the animals. On the arrival of the police to investigate in the village, they invariably found themselves defeated by the simple expedient of the whole male population leaving the village and remaining absent until they went away. The land in possession of the tribes was 1,770 acres, of which only 293 or a little over an acre per head of the population, were cultivated. Since these tribes were brought under the Act, there have been only two convictions under the Indian Penal Code and 17 under the Criminal Tribes Act against them, but they are reported to still give considerable trouble and are described in recent reports, as incorrigble. It is, however, noticeable that the cultivated area in the village has just about doubled since they were brought under restrictions and, when we investigated the conditions of the tribes on 18th February 1914, a great improvement in their conduct was apparent, so much so that the two constables, who used to be posted to the village to supervise the working of the Act, had been withdrawn by the district authorities. The complaints of openly-conducted raids and of driving off herds of cattle have now ceased and, if it cannot be said that the community has reformed, it is at least just to say that the people show a marked improvement in their behaviour. At present 40 Dher Kharals and 17 Valana Jats are on the register. None are absent and none are in jail. History.

UNREGISTERED TRIBES.

38. The following five tribes of cattle-thieves were recently notified criminal, but they have not been registered yet :— Unregistered tribes.

THE DULLUS.

(I) The Dullus are among the grazier tribes of the Montgomery *bar*.

THE PARHARS.

(II) The Parhars of the Montgomery district claim to be Biloches. Parhar is a sub-caste common to the Jats and Rajputs, being most numerous among the former.

THE SAGHALS AND CHANNARS.

(III) The Saghals and Channars are sub-castes of Jats, who resided in the Jhang *bar* prior to its colonization.

THE GADIS.

(IV) The Gadis, or Gadhis, are a branch of the Rind Biloches, who also inhabited the Jhang *bar* as graziers.

THE CHURHERAS.

(V) The Churheras reside in the Montgomery district in small numbers. They are a branch of the Kharal tribe which is found in considerable strength in the northern half of that district.

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN.

Effects of restrictions accompanied by means of livelihood.

39. The foregoing histories of the tribes, proclaimed criminal under the Act, show that the attempts at reclamation, made during the past half century, have not been in vain, and that a marked improvement is noticeable in most cases, although it is probable that, if more care had been exercised in the past in placing honest means of livelihood at the command of some of the tribes simultaneously with bringing them under the restrictions of the special law, a still greater degree of reformation would have been apparent now, than is actually the case.

We are constrained to this view by the many concrete examples, which have come to our notice, of communities of the same tribe, residing in the same locality, exhibiting widely divergent degrees of reformation, those having sufficient means of livelihood being far in advance of others with less to support them. Indeed, so persistently has this feature been impressed upon us in our investigations that we feel justified in enunciating the axiom that, given restrictions under the Criminal Tribes Act, the resulting reformation of tribes and communities varies directly with the honest means of livelihood provided for their subsistence. Many instances leading to this conclusion might be cited, but the Sansi *kots* of Mandianwala and Dhingranwala, in the Sialkot district, serve admirably to illustrate the contention. They were established simultaneously with others in 1856, under the authority of an executive circular, and they were placed under special police surveillance. To each *kot* was attached a small amount of land which the Sansis, who had till then led a wandering life, were expected to cultivate. In 1874, the Act of 1871 was applied to all these settlements and the movements of the inmates of the *kots* have been restricted ever since. Whether the land provided was sufficient for the maintenance of the inmates of the settlements in 1856 is very doubtful; it certainly is not so now, and has not been for many years.

A comparison has been made, in the earlier part of the report, of the divergent conditions existing in the two *kots* of Dhingranwala and Mandianwala, and the inference which may be drawn from a comparison of two such communities as these, and there are many other similar instances to be found all over the Province, is that, although handicapped by the traditions of the past and surrounded by criminal associations, the large majority of the people, constituting these so-called criminal tribes, are yet willing to settle down and make the best of their opportunities, when their movements are restricted on the one hand and they are given an opening to honest livelihood on the other.

Effects of personal influence.

40. Another factor of importance, tending to accelerate the reclamation of criminal tribes, which has come forcibly to our notice, is the effect produced by well directed personal influence. We have two instances of the efforts of individuals producing unmistakeable and lasting results. One of these is the case of the Minas of Shahjahanpur, in the Gurgaon district, a tribe which in the seventies probably excelled, in violence and daring crime, any other in the Province. The Minas were declared a criminal tribe and brought under the Act in 1876. In the early eighties, Mr. Christie, Superintendent of Police, Gurgaon, whose name is still revered in the village, took a personal interest in these people, and in the course of two years introduced the reforms, described in paragraph 24, which have practically reclaimed the community.

The second instance of personal influence producing good results is mentioned in paragraph 18, where the people of the Harni village of Badalwala in the Ludhiana district are shown to have greatly benefited from having, as headmen for three generations, three men of one family who had served in the Army in their early years. The discipline which these ex-military men have instilled into the people is not only very striking to the visitor, but it is reflected in statistics, for during the last ten years only one man of that village has been convicted under the Indian Penal Code and, of the eight persons who are absent, seven have settled down to work in China.

The lesson, which we learn from these two villages, is that a healthy paternal influence, enforcing discipline and at the same time affording encouragement and help to the people, is capable of producing most beneficial results among the tribes, and we are further fortified in this conviction by what we have seen of its effect upon the members of the tribes, who have been sufficiently long in the Salvation Army settlements to benefit by it. The change in demeanour, appearance and cleanliness of the people, who have been properly managed in settlements, even for a short time, is very marked, while the education and training, to which the children take very readily, afford great promise for the future.

41. The general principles underlying the administration of the Criminal Tribes Act should, we think, be these:— General principles advocated.

(1) A strict and effective but sympathetic control over the worst tribes or divisions thereof, where possible through philanthropic bodies, combined with the provision of sufficient opportunity for them to earn an honest living within the area to which they are restricted.

(2) The provision of definite conditions under which members of criminal tribes may, by continued good conduct, individually earn relaxation from restrictions and may, thereby, contribute towards the ultimate emancipation of the community from the operations of the Act. Such provision, coupled with the rigorous enforcement of the restrictions of the Act, in the case of individual offenders, should go far to complete the process of reformation which is already very largely in evidence. A bunch of carrots in front and a stick behind suitably sums up the requirements of the situation as it appears to us. Neither the one, nor the other, will serve the purpose by itself, but the two happily combined and leading the way to an ultimate goal, promising complete emancipation from all irksome control, should be sufficient ordinarily to effect the reformation at which we aim.

(3) Provision for the education of the children, so as to wean them in early life from their hereditary criminal traditions and open to them fresh fields of thought and occupation. The ultimate reclamation of the tribes must be effected through the children. They are builders of the future and, if we can bring them up in a code of morality different to that taught by their parents, we shall have secured, in great measure, the good behaviour of future generations. The separation of children from their parents and their education have been advocated from time to time, but legal power to enforce the object did not exist prior to 1897, when the old Act was amended so as to make it possible. In the Punjab, however, no use has ever been made of the provision, probably for want of money. The beneficial effect produced by educating the children of a criminal tribe is copiously illustrated in the case of the Minas of Shahjahanpur and, in the course of our investigations, we have found numerous instances of educated individuals going out into the world to seek an honest livelihood.

A line of action, based on such principles as these should, under normal conditions, result in the complete reformation of the tribes now treated as criminal in the course of a generation or two. Little can be done to reclaim the older members of the tribes; they are past teaching, but they will die out. Of the middle aged, there is evidence that they are not as a rule past reclamation, and we may hope that the majority will take advantage of condi-

tions promising freedom to themselves and their children. But it is by means of the children that we may confidently hope to secure lasting results to be handed down to posterity.

In the Punjab, we are by on means at the beginning of the reclamation of these people. In varying degrees, they all show some improvement and there are communities and individuals among the tribes who have worked out their salvation, wholly or partially, with but little outside assistance. These better-conducted communities and individuals are deserving of all the sympathy and help we can extend to them, and we should endeavour to apply the power given under the Act with great discrimination. It is probable that in the past the cast-iron application of the law has often tended to defeat its own purpose by dragging back to indignity and punishment persons who, though absent from their homes without leave, had yet settled down to honest livelihood. Many instances of the kind came to our notice in the villages we visited and a central control, such as we shall advocate further on in the report, should do much to remove these anomalies, and to insure a uniformity in the administration of the principles we recommend, which is impossible under the present system of divided control and responsibility.

Application of Act in full rigour desirable for tribes when first notified.

42. The new Act III of 1911 provides for the application of varying degrees of restraint to a tribe proclaimed criminal and, after a careful study of the past history of the criminal tribes of the Province and of the possible and probable effect of the different classes of restrictions contemplated by the Act, we are of opinion that, ordinarily, when a tribe is notified it is desirable, in the first instance, to apply the Act in its full rigour and to allow the members of the tribe to graduate for lighter treatment by good behaviour. The application of the Criminal Tribes Act to a large concourse of people is never lightly entertained either by district officers or by Government, and very convincing and adequate reasons have to be advanced to show that all other methods and measures have failed, before a tribe can be proclaimed criminal. A tribe or class of persons in this condition must, indeed, be intolerable, and little, or no, advantage could be gained by requiring the persons, who are so great a pest, merely to report themselves at fixed intervals or to notify any contemplated change of residence. We consider, therefore, that in dealing with habitual and hardened criminals, we should not begin with half measures. They are liable to be misunderstood and mistaken for weakness, and are likely to necessitate still greater severity in the end. We would ordinarily then, on principle, apply the provisions of section 12 to all tribes freshly notified as criminal, and leave the members so restricted to show, by future good conduct, that they are fitted for lighter treatment. It would then be time enough to consider whether the comparatively mild provisions of Section 10 might not supersede the stricter regulation of Section 12. The leniency of Section 10 might now usefully be applied to certain communities to be found to-day among the tribes whose movements have hitherto been rigidly restricted, but it is extremely doubtful whether it would have been possible to recommend this had they never known greater restraint.

The cattle-lifters.

43. The principles, enunciated above, are based upon the experience gained in dealing with criminal tribes of the "thieves and robbers" class. The "cattle-thieves" fall into an entirely separate category They are people of a different calibre, with traditions, customs and habits entirely their own. Until recent years when colonization encroached upon their preserves and retreats, very little was known of them except that they were wandering graziers, much given to stealing and passing on cattle. They now appear in circumstances entirely foreign to their nature; their old surroundings are gone, their old occupations are fast disappearing, and they find themselves in small communities, forced into acquiring fixed residence in a vast area of cultivation, to which they are asked to contribute by a kind of labour, both new and distasteful to them. Physically, they are a fine manly race, holding in undisguised contempt the colonists, who have usurped their old possessions and who surround them and shut them in, and whose crops and cattle they systematically

prey upon. Perhaps it was expecting too much to anticipate these children of nature suddenly relinquishing their former life, free as the air, and taking easily to the plough and farming amongst surroundings entirely out of tune with everything they had ever known; and perhaps it is, in reality, not so remarkable that they have settled down so little but that they have settled down so much and so fast. Five, or even ten or fifteen, years is a short time in which to change the whole nature and mode of living of a people, and to eradicate the traditions and habits ingrained by generations of wild existence. That they will, in time, conform to their new conditions of life is undoubted, and they have made a good beginning, for they till the land as they never tilled before, however unsatisfactory their methods and the result may be at present. But even the casual observer must notice, in these tribes of the wilds, a spirit of independence and absence of discipline which must be overcome before they can be brought to respect the rights and privileges of others. Since being settled in their villages, they have become accustomed to a fixed residence by force of circumstance, and it must now be the business of Government to create about them such conditions as will compel them to conform still more closely to the recognized canons of society. Firstly, some respect of law and order and a sense of social discipline must be instilled into them and, secondly, they must be weaned from sacrificing their own and other peoples' interests to the welfare of their cattle. In both cases the lessons they have to learn are hard; the first strikes at their innate idea of liberty and the second at their recognized means of livelihood, for at present they regard their land more as a medium for producing fodder for their cattle, rather than as a means of supporting themselves. The application of the Criminal Tribes Act, hitherto indifferently enforced, has initiated the requisite schooling, and it now remains to enforce firm discipline by appointing a special agency, at the expense of the tribes, to carry out the rules. No philanthropic body could possibly effect any good with these people in their present state, and we must rely on sterner measure for their supervision, until they are brought to some sense of the position they occupy in the general order of things.

44. Regarding their herds of cattle which, however appropriate for graziers living by their produce, are, in their enormous numbers, out of all proportion to the requirements of cultivators, special measures are necessary limiting the number of the animals kept to such a maximum as the land, at the disposal of the people, is capable of maintaining, without impairing its usefulness, as a source of income. Not only do these large herds, the remnant of a past existence, serve to prevent the tribes from putting their land to its legitimate use, but they provide the immediate cause of nearly all the crime, which have made their owners the pests of the neighbourhoods in which they are settled. The turning of large numbers of animals into standing crops belonging to other people, the damage to canal embankments and Government preserves and the thefts of animals from others merely represent the spontaneous impulse of these old graziers to continue the only means of subsistence they really understand. Our investigations in the villages of these tribes show that, during the last five years, the numbers of cattle have increased very considerably, and this development must naturally be accompanied by a further neglect of the true interests of agriculture and by increased depredations on outside areas. Herein lies the root-cause of the increasingly bad reports which have, during the past decade, been recorded annually of these tribes, and the fact they have increased their live-stock to this extent, to the detriment of those living about them, indicates the existence of a feeling in their minds that Government, whom they have only recently been brought to recognize, and their neighbours, whom they despise, are equally powerless to control their destiny. Not only are the evil results manifest from the condition of the tribes themselves, but the best traditions of agriculture in this country prove that the maintenance of large stocks of cattle is incompatible with the successful farming of small holdings.

Reduction in number of cattle necessary.

45. There is one other matter of importance requiring adjustment which arises in connection with the cattle, and that is the habit, which

Outlying cattle sheds.

has become common with some of these tribes, of building isolated sheds and other erections of the kind among the fields and at a distance from the villages. Ostensibly the sheds are for the accommodation of cattle, but it is generally known that, in reality, they are used for hiding and passing on stolen animals. The people are beginning to desert the villages and take up their residence in these places and before long, if the habit is allowed to continue, the communities, instead of residing together in compact groups, will be living about in families in small isolated hamlets, the proper control of which will be impossible. The Nur Mahram and Akla Hayat Biloches of the Jhang district, who are among the worst-behaved of these tribes, have taken the lead in the matter, and their land may be seen studded with such places. Realizing the undesirability and danger attaching to the sheds, the Deputy Commissioner of Jhang recently issued an order directing their demolition, but its execution was not effected. We shall propose measures further on to overcome these difficulties.

With the exception of these special lines, on which the cattle-lifters will have to be dealt with as indicated above, their reformation in other respects may be guided by the same principles as we have suggested for the other classes of criminal tribes.

MEASURES RECOMMENDED.

Control. Orders under Section 4 to invariably follow notification.

46. In recommending measures for enforcing the principles enunciated in the preceding paragraphs, it will be best to deal separately with each.

The declaration of a tribe as criminal under Section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act lays its members open to enhanced punishment under Section 23, in respect of second and third convictions for any of the serious offences detailed in the schedule appended to the Act. But theft, from a house without house-breaking, or from an open space not attended with violence, which forms the bulk of offences committed by the trained members of most of the criminal tribes, and cattle lifting, which causes such widespread loss and annoyance to peaceful citizens, are not included in the schedule, having obviously been omitted as a less serious type of crime. In the case of such criminal tribes, as content themselves with offences not falling within the purview of Section 23 of the Act, a mere declaration under Section 3 is, accordingly, of no avail. We, therefore, recommend that in all cases where a notification has been issued under Section 3 of the Criminal Tribes Act, an order under Section 4 should follow, as a matter of course, to enable the District Magistrate to register all the members of that tribe and arrange to take their finger impressions, with a view to their identification when they are found abroad in disguise on thieving excursions.

Omission to register members of notified and restricted tribes.

47. During our enquiries an omission came to our notice. We found in several places that Sansis (who have been notified as a criminal tribe throughout the Province), living in fixed residence, have escaped registration altogether. We recommend that executive orders should be issued, drawing the attention of district authorities to this and similar omissions and asking them to take immediate steps to register all members of notified criminal tribes forthwith.

Erasures from Register.

48. Section 24 of the Act provides for the punishment of a registered member of a criminal tribe, who is found under circumstances showing that he was about to commit, or aid in the commission of, a theft or robbery, or was waiting for an opportunity to commit such an offence. It is not easy to satisfy a court that a person, absent from his home and found wandering, was in that predicament. Nevertheless, the registration of a member of a criminal tribe greatly enhances the chances of his conviction. After a name has been entered in the register of a criminal tribe, it should not, in our opinion, be erased by the District Magistrate except on the ground that the person does not belong to a criminal tribe. We have laid this down in draft

rule 8 (*iii*). Under Section 5, the District Magistrate can exempt any individual at the time of registration in consideration of his good character or usefulness in the administration of the tribe to which he belongs, but, thereafter, all exemptions should, we think, be earned in the ordinary course prescribed in the draft rules.

Restriction under Section 10.

49. The foregoing provisions are, however, merely deterrent, and cannot assist much in the reformation of a tribe which has, as a body, fallen into evil ways. The preventive measures are authorized by Sections 10 and 12 of the Act. Section 10 contemplates a less stringent control than Section 12, but, while the provisions of its clause (*a*) can have little effect in preventing thieves from going out on short excursions unless the fixed intervals for reporting are reduced to a minimum, clause (*b*) can be easily set at naught by any registered member of a criminal tribe notifying to the authority concerned that he intends going into another Province or a Native State for an indefinite period and forthwith moving across the border. We, therefore, regret that we are unable to recommend the use of Section 10 (*b*) as it stands. But we have provided in draft rules 9 and 10 what appears to us to be the best method of applying Section 10 (*a*), and, as stated earlier in the report, we contemplate resorting to this section in regard to such criminal tribes as are well on their way to reformation, as a step towards their ultimate emancipation. We propose to leave the 'interval' to be fixed by the District Magistrate according to the requirements of each tribe or community. He may thus begin with reports as often as, say, once a week and, as the tribe improves, relax the rule down to one appearance in a year. But, having relaxed the operation of the Act in favour of a tribe by removing it from the severity of Section 12 and granting it the leniency of Section 10 (*a*), it is necessary that the District Magistrate should watch the behaviour of the tribe and fix the intervals of reporting at periods sufficient to keep the members at home and engaged in lawful occupation. Care must be taken, particularly at first, to see that the removal of the daily roll-call is not abused by frequent absences. With this end in view we have framed rule 10, which necessitates a daily report, during absence from home, to the lambardar of the village where a member spends a night. This, in a way, combines the good points of clause (*b*) of Section 10 with the provisions of clause (*a*), but we think it falls well within the purview of Section 10 (*a*), in so far that it merely necessitates reports, in certain circumstances, at shorter intervals.

Limits of restriction under Section 12.

50. The measures of control which we shall propose are directed chiefly against the tribes which come under the restrictions of Section 12 of the Criminal Tribes Act. As far back as 1885, Mr. J. P. Warburton, then Superintendent of Police at Ludhiana, proposed a scheme for the reformation of the Harnis, directed to two objects—firstly, to prevent illicit absence of members of the tribes and, secondly, to compel every adult Harni to work for his livelihood, while the younger members of the tribe were to be educated and taught manufactures. He advocated strong restrictive measures, and remarked that the failure of the Sialkot reformatories in the past was due to inefficient supervision and to the absence of such severe restrictrive measures as he recommended. We agree in the opinion expressed by him, although we think that the failure of the Sialkot *kots* was in no small measure due to insufficient occupation. The points covered by his second object will be dealt with further on. As to the first, we hold that restrictive measures can be effective only if they are stringent and are rigorously enforced. Thefts are usually committed by night, and it is only at long distances from their homes and at places where they cannot be identified, that members of criminal tribes make so bold as to pilfer or plunder in broad day-light. Hitherto, the movements of registered members of criminal tribes have usually been restricted to the area attached to the village at which they reside. In the Sialkot *kots*, this limit was, by executive order, extended over a radius of five miles. The larger the area, the more difficult it becomes to watch the wanderings of the individuals. But, in restricting the movements of a tribe, we have also to bear

in mind the provision of means of livelihood for its members. We, therefore consider a circle with a radius of five miles from the village site where the mem bers of a criminal tribe reside to be none too large and we propose that, whenever the movements of a tribe are restricted under Section 12, the limit fixed for the day should, unless there are good reasons to the contrary, be a circle with a radius of five miles from their residence; but that the limit for the night should be the boundary of the actual residential village.

Roll-call.

51. The confinement of the registered members at night to their residences is of great importance. This can best be secured by their appearance before some responsible person every night, whether at a roll-call or otherwise. Such measures are already in force, but we have found during our inspections, that in most places the roll-call is a farce because those holding it are of insufficient status or of indifferent character. Where the responsibility rests with a low-paid official or a corrupt lambardar, who is not above being bought, a fictitious entry in the diary, or in the roll-call list, furnishing evidence as to the presence of the offender at home at a particular time, has been known to do incalculable harm by striking at the root of perfectly true cases of theft by members of criminal tribes and by encouraging them to repeat similar excursions with a feeling of security.

The necessity for efficient supervision at night would seem to point to the desirability of collecting the criminal tribes in large numbers at a few selected centres and placing a responsible person in charge of each. But the population we have to deal with is so large and the question of finding occupation for the people so difficult that it is impossible to bring them together in anything but limited numbers. It is clear that in many places, where the tribes are found in strength, the means of livelihood at their disposal are already insufficient and the admission of any fresh comers would be impossible. A solution of the problem which commends itself to us is to remove gradually and place in settlements, in the manner to be described hereafter, a certain number of the people who are either bad enough to need strict supervision or good enough to be rewarded with land, so as to leave the others sufficient opportunities to earn an honest living at their present homes. Such transfers would relieve the congestion in the present villages with limited resources, and would at the same time provide useful object lessons for the well-behaved on the one hand and the badly conducted on the other.

We should thus have criminal tribes living (1) in settlements, (2) in villages held exclusively by them and (3) in villages where they form only a part of the population. In the case of settlements, the officer in charge would be responsible and may be depended upon for holding the nightly roll-call. In villages held exclusively by a criminal tribe, it will often be necessary to have an official or non-official agency for supervision. But where the lambardar, though belonging to the tribe, is a well-behaved man, capable of exercising a good influence, he may safely be left to satisfy himself every morning and evening that all registered members are present. We have framed rule 12 with this end in view. It will be more effective to fix responsibility in the manner provided than to prescribe the farce of a roll-call which most of the lambardars, uneducated or half-educated as they are, could not be expected to carry on with efficiency and regularity.

As regards villages where members of criminal tribes form only a part of the population, the lambardars should be made to realise their responsibility, and, if there be more lambardars than one in a village, the lambardar to be made responsible for the supervision of members of the criminal tribes should be selected with care. The local police officers must also interest themselves more closely than they do at present in the work of surveillance, to prevent supervision becoming lax or degenerating into the employment of thieves for self-aggrandizement. Strong and honest lambardars are quite capable of keeping the criminal residents of their villages in order, if they wish to do so and have the support of the executive authorities. It is desirable to authorize

police officers above a certain rank to hold special roll-calls at any time, and we have provided for this in draft rule 13.

In short, we aim at ensuring, in the most suitable manner, that no registered member of a criminal tribe, whose movements have been restricted under Section 12, shall leave his home at night, or travel far enough during the day to be able to commit crime among people who do not know him.

52. We propose to provide for the grant of leave of absence from the area of restriction by means of passes on the lines of the old rules, with the difference that we would allow a headman, police officer or officer in charge of a settlement to issue day passes, the officer in charge of a settlement or the officer in charge of a police station to issue passes for leave up to 15 days and the Superintendent of Police of the district to grant passes for longer periods. To prevent abuse of the passes, we have provided safeguards in the rules, by imposing liability on the man on leave to report himself at police stations in the jurisdiction of which he may happen to be during the leave, and also to report himself to the headmen of villages in which he may reside. Leave.

53. Under Sections 11 and 12 of the Criminal Tribes Act, it is necessary to satisfy the Governor-General in Council that there are adequate means of living at the disposal of a tribe and, if there are not, to provide such means of subsistence, before the movements of a tribe can be restricted. Our enquiries have also shown that the provision of adequate means of honest living is essential to reformation, and it seems desirable to us to leave at their homes, under the requisite restrictions, such members of criminal tribes as can find sufficient occupation there, but to remove all the others gradually to settlements of the nature to be described hereafter, where they shall be employed either on land or on some kind of industry. It may also be possible to settle some of the better behaved members of criminal tribes of the eastern Punjab on isolated pieces of crown land, which we understand are available in the Karnal district or which may hereafter become available in other neighbouring districts. Of the individuals left at their homes, a certain number may be expected to seek out honest occupations for themselves. It has been so in the past, and will no doubt be so in the future. All genuine efforts of the kind should be fostered and encouraged to the utmost, and we cannot condemn too strongly the policy, adopted in some instances, of uprooting an individual from an honest profession, merely because he was absent without leave, prosecuting and punishing him for breach of the rules and then returning him to his village, where he can find no honest means of keeping his body and soul together. Occupation.

In regard to the methods of filling the settlements, we have witnessed the undesirable results of indiscriminately forcing large bodies of criminal tribes into such places, irrespective of antecedents and character and, as the accommodation in our proposed settlements will necessarily be limited in extent, we do not recommend that anything in the nature of wholesale deportations be attempted. On the contrary, we suggest that the settlements be reserved for the special treatment of those who prove themselves in need of strict supervision on the one hand, and those deserving of land in reward for prolonged good conduct, on the other. Regarding the former class, we recommend an automatic system under which the settlements will be filled gradually and, subject to limitations, by those individual members of the tribes who prove by their actions that they are given to crime and require special supervision. We propose that all members of criminal tribes convicted of offences under the Criminal Tribes Act should be sent to settlements, along with their families, and those convicted under the Indian Penal Code should be removed to settlements on the expiry of their term of imprisonment, there to be joined by their families.

54. So far as the land settlements are concerned, little difficulty is anticipated, for the one desire of all members of the more settled criminal tribes is to get land, and they have been led to form expectations by the grant of land, in Land to be reserved for the best behaved.

the Chenab Colony, to some of the worst criminal tribes. In illustration of this thirst for land, it has been mentioned that we found thirty-seven newly-arrived families at Chak No. 602 in the Lyallpur district who alleged that they were Gilois and had come all the way from the Gujrat district where they have lived for years known as Kureshis. They want to be registered as members of the Giloi tribe in the hope of obtaining land like their brethren. We have also been struck in many places with the readiness of a tribe to openly admit thieving propensities, the idea being to obtain land in proportion to the misdeeds committed.

Sufficient land, however, is not available for the employment of all members of criminal tribes, nor could we recommend a policy to reward criminals with land in preference to more deserving men. But apart from this consideration, we have found at our visits to villages occupied by these tribes that, at first at any rate, they make poor cultivators, and that to some of them agriculture is as distasteful as any other kind of industry. It would therefore appear desirable to aim at inculcating, in the lazier sections of the tribes, such habits of industry as can be learnt in manufactures and to reserve the available land for only the best behaved and the harder workers in the tribes, as a reward for their past good conduct. This policy seems unobjectionable from an ethical point of view and, although providing land for the reformed worker may not appear at first sight to contribute to reclaiming the bad, yet it must tend to do so, not only by illustrating the readiness of Government to reward reformation but also by relieving the present congestion in the villages and by leaving vacant, for those left behind, the occupations on which the good have earned their advancement.

We, therefore, propose that land should only be given to the best behaved members of the tribes as a reward for prolonged good conduct and not as a bribe for future reformation. Both now and in future, the allotment of land should be kept ever before the eyes of the criminal tribes as the highest form of reward to which they may aspire by uninterrupted good behaviour and, when land is awarded to them, it should be given on very distinct conditions as to continued good conduct. It is perhaps unfortunate that no such conditions were made in the Lyallpur colony when the *bar* tribes were allotted land and settled there, and it is still more unfortunate that in some instances the mistake has been perpetuated by granting to the people occupancy rights without any proof of reformation. What now happens, in many cases, is that a tribe or community behaves well for a short time in order to obtain exemption from restrictions or a grant of land, and, as soon as the object has been achieved, the members revert to crime. We understand that the imposition of such a condition is contemplated in the colonization scheme of the Lower Bari Doab Canal.

We consider that when land is given to members of a criminal tribe, it should be on the clear understanding that it is liable to forfeiture during a long term of years for proved misconduct, and that, not until they have satisfactorily passed through this period of probation, long enough to make them forget their thieving traditions, should they hope to obtain any rights in the land.

These principles should, we think, be applied to tribes already settled on land, wherever existing conditions will permit of this being done, and the members in these existing land settlements should be made to realize, equally with the inmates of any others that may be created hereafter, that a conviction for an offence carries with it, not only loss of the land, but also removal forthwith, or after serving any sentence of imprisonment, to an industrial settlement for a period of at least ten years, *i.e.*, until exemption has been earned under the rules as will be explained hereafter. In the event of an offender having previously acquired, in the land, rights which cannot be withdrawn, it should be worked in his absence by a relation or might be temporarily resumed by Government. We base these recommendations on our conviction that to reclaim habitual

criminals we must, while offering inducements on the one hand, make the most of our powers of coercion on the other, and we feel confident that the spectacle of an inmate of a land settlement, convicted of an offence, losing his land and his home and being sent off with his family to an industrial settlement, even for a term of years, would create a very wholesome impression in the minds of his brethren.

55. As regards the control of those members of the tribes, who will remain restricted in various places and not fall within the categories above alluded to, we would leave them to be dealt with under the ordinary rules. The local authorities should, with the advice of the special officer, who may be appointed to supervise the working of the Criminal Tribes Act, make the lambardar or zaildar responsible for the enforcement of the rules, and it should be the business of the District Magistrate to arrange to place further means of livelihood within the reach of the members of such restricted tribes, wherever insufficiency of occupation is felt. Should any such community be fit to be placed in charge of a philanthropic body and such agency be forthcoming, the village could at any time be declared a settlement under Section 16. On the other hand, in dealing with some of the more troublesome communities, such as the Sansis of Dhingranwala and Harnis of Tappar or Bir Gagra, the local authorities may not be able to maintain an effective control without the help of the police. In such cases, a police post may, we think, be maintained until the worst characters in the place have been transferred to industrial settlements.

Members of tribes left in their villages.

56. Irksome restrictive measures may be deterrent and to this extent they are useful, but to induce reformation in a people there must be incentives at work in the hearts of the people themselves, and the following system of exemptions has been framed with the object of providing every registered member of a criminal tribe under restriction and every community of a criminal tribe with a definite object for which to exert themselves. We consider that, if a member of a criminal tribe, restricted under Section 12, has not been convicted or reasonably suspected of committing a non-bailable offence under the Indian Penal Code and has not been convicted for absence for a period of ten consecutive years, and if it appears from enquiries made from the police and other sources that he has completely reformed himself, he deserves to be exempted from all restrictions; and in draft rule 25 we have proposed that the District Magistrate may be authorized to grant such exemptions. We thus contemplate the exemption of individual members from all the restrictions of Section 12 and enable them to go about as free men in return for earning the privilege by personal good behaviour. But we desire to enforce communal responsibility, and to foster a spirit of emulation, in reclaiming the worst characters, in a village or settlement, by means of the better-behaved members, and we propose to completely set free the entire criminal tribe community of every village in which all the members have earned their exemption individually in the manner alluded to. When that stage of reformation is reached in a community, a recommendation should be made to the Local Government for its complete discharge from the operations of the Act. With the sanction of the Local Government, the names of all its members should then be expunged from the Register of the Criminal Tribe, so as to remove the stigma attaching to registration, and they would cease to be a criminal tribe. Until this final discharge is effected, the District Magistrate should, on good cause being shown, have the power to cancel any individual exemptions. If after such discharge, a community so misbehaved as to render it desirable to bring the members once more under restriction, it would always be open to Government to notify it again. Draft rules 25 to 27 have been designed to give effect to these proposals.

Openings for emancipation.

57. Section 17 of the Criminal Tribes Act authorizes the removal of children of members of any criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification has been published under Section 12, from their parents to industrial, agricultural or reformatory schools, and it may be presumed that it also contemplates the education of children without removing them from their parents.

Education.

As the basis of an educational policy among the criminal tribes, we propose to make education compulsory for all boys between the ages of 7 and 12, provided that there is a school at the village or settlement where they reside, and to impose on all registered members the responsibility of sending to school the boys of those ages living under their care. We consider the latter measure necessary in order to safeguard against the parents or guardians of boys discouraging them from going to school, in order to employ them on works conducive to their own comfort or profit. All settlements should, we think, be provided with schools for literary instruction in one of the vernaculars prescribed by the Education Department, and the boys should attend for at least two hours a day, by rotation, the rest of the day being spent by them in learning industries. In other villages, occupied wholly or partly by members of criminal tribes, the District Boards should be invited to establish Primary Schools as far as possible. Members of criminal tribes, who have been exempted from the restrictions of Section 12, may be expected to look after their sons after they attain the age of 12 years. But all orphans and the sons of such registered and non-exempted members of criminal tribes as appear to be exercising an unwholesome influence on their children should, in our opinion, be removed, between the ages of 12 and 18, to an industrial school. Such a school should be established under Section 17 of the Act, and the Ludhiana Fort, at present used as a weaving school by the Salvation Army, appears to us to be admirably suited to the requirements of such an institution. Commissioner Booth-Tucker, whom we have consulted on the point, has favourably entertained the idea. We do not consider it advisable to remove to this residential school, boys under the age of 12, as up to that age they are better under the fostering care of their parents, nor can children under 12 years learn much in the way of bad habits, particularly when they spend the greater part of their time at school. Orphans, with no one to look after them in their childhood, might be attached to some settlement until they are 12 years of age, for it will not be wise to place them in the same boarding-house with the older boys; but there are probably few who have no relation to take the place of parents in their childhood. The most impressionable age is that from 12 to 18, and during this period, we think, boys should, so far as possible, be removed from all evil influence. Draft rules 47 to 49 provide for carrying these views into effect.

To give the younger generation a chance of being brought up as self-respecting members of the society, we recommend that all boys under the age of 12 and all girls should continue to be treated as exempt from the restrictions of the Act. After the age of 12, (1) a boy who regularly attends a school or works in a settlement, (2) a person, residing in a settlement, who has worked continuously in the settlement since the age of 12 years, and (3) a son of an exempted member who has attended school up to the age of 12 and has passed the Primary School examination should, in our opinion, not be brought under the restrictions of Section 12 unless and until he is convicted for, or is reasonably suspected of having committed, a non-bailable offence. The literary and industrial education of boys will not only reform their ideas and wean them from their hereditary evil instincts, but will open up fresh fields of thought and occupation, such as their parents and ancestors have not known, and it appears undesirable to blight the early life of a promising boy by the undeserved and probably unnecessary stigma of automatic registration and restriction. We should rather aim at taking such a boy away from his surroundings by introducing him to an honest life as a hopeful member of society. We have no objection to every boy's name being registered separately at the age of 12 years, as a safeguard and in order to secure his finger impressions, but the registration should remain ineffective until the District Magistrate has declared, in respect of an individual, that he has forfeited the privilege which we have proposed to grant in draft rule 26.

It has been shown in paragraph 24 how the Minas have benefited by trifling encouragement in the way of scholarships. When education is made compulsory and the parents are liable to punishment

for not sending their boys to school, no such incentive for their attendance will be needed. But we want, not merely that the boys of the criminal tribes shall go to school, but also that they shall exert themselves to learn what they are taught. We have found, during our tours, that the boys of such tribes are often dull and lack application. We, therefore, recommend the grant of prize scholarships of small value by the institution in charge of a settlement or by the District Board, where the school is managed by that body. In our opinion a boy of a criminal tribe should get for one year a stipend of—

Rupee	0-4-0	per mensem	on passing the	I	class Examination,
"	0-8-0	"	"	II	"
"	0-12-0	"	"	III	"
"	1-0-0	"	"	IV	"

provided that he continues to attend the school and reads in the next higher class.

58. With the exception of orphan girls, who have no relations to look after them or who might with advantage be sent to a girls' school, we do not consider it necessary, at this stage, to provide for either the compulsory education of girls or for their removal to a residential school. Their education had better be left, for the present, to the choice of their parents. Orphan girls might be placed under the care of the wife of one of the Salvation Army Officers in charge of a settlement and later on, should the necessity for it appear, the institution of a school for girls can be considered. The number of orphan girls without anybody to look after them will, however, probably be very small. *Education of girls.*

CHAPTER III—The Wandering Criminal Tribes.

HISTORY.

59. The question of the best way to deal with the wandering criminal tribes of the Punjab has been periodically considered by Government since the seventies. The subject appears to have been first discussed in 1870, when Lieutenant-Colonel Hutchinson, C.S.I., Inspector General of Police, wrote in his letter No. 143, dated the 21st December 1870— *Information available.*

"In the Punjab we have many migratory tribes such as the Gandhilas and many of the Bauria family, who cannot be said to have a fixed habitation anywhere. They live near a village whose lambardars consent to harbour them for a short time on payment of a portion of their ill-gotten gains. The place after a while gets too hot for them, and they move to some new locality. I think power should be given to the Local Government to fix a place of residence for such people. The only other alternative is to declare such families or tribes liable to surveillance wherever they go and compel them to report to the Police."

A year after this was written, Act XXVII of 1871 was passed into law, and it was doubtless intended that this enactment should apply to all criminal tribes, whether wandering or settled. Indeed, there are indications that in many instances unsettled communities were treated under its provisions. In 1856, certain wandering Sansis and Pakhiwaras had been given land in Sialkot and placed in eight *kots* and they, while still incompletely settled, came under the operations of the Act which was applied to the Sansis in 1873 and to the Pakhiwaras in 1875. The following passage occurs in the Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in the Home Department, dated the 23rd August 1875:—

"It is represented by the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshiarpur that there are many Sansis in his district who have no fixed residence, but the Commissioner, Mr. Melvill, has justly pointed out that there need be no difficulty on this account as the rules provide for Sansis changing their residence with the permission of the District Officers. Such permission should be granted without difficulty. At the same time it is to be hoped that the fact of having to apply to the District Officer for leave to change residence and to state the place of their future residence will in time induce the wandering members to adopt fixed residences."

In June 1875, the Commissioner of the Lahore Division reported :—

"The immediate effect of a partial application of the Criminal Tribes Act to Sansis has been to convert the few, who previously were nomad, into resident day-labourers and to check their returning to the nomad state. The small huts of reed and grass have disappeared and, if the owners have emigrated, they cannot return under the name of Sansis. One result probably is, as it certainly is with menials on security under Section 505, Criminal Procedure Code, that the land-owners have great power over them to make them weed and reap and keep cattle for a bare maintenance; but there is no difficulty in getting that maintenance and they must earn their emancipation."

The same year, the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur in his letter No. 195, dated the 18th May 1875, wrote :—

"The Sansis of this district are nowhere without fixed residences, though they occasionally change their abodes. There may formerly have been Sansis in this district who led a more unsettled life, and it is a fact that a number of Sansis were expelled from the district by a former Deputy Commissioner several years ago."

There seems then to be no doubt that the Sansis, who reside permanently in houses at the present time, were in the sixties and seventies in a very unsettled and nomadic state, and in corroboration of this we found grey-beards in the Sialkot *kots* who described to us the wandering existence they led in their youth when they moved about with *sirkis* and other temporary shelters. The fact that the settled Sansis of to-day are without land and are to be found scattered all over the districts of the Province south of the Jhelum, also points to the same conclusion. It is probable that, after the annexation of the Punjab, the settling tendencies of British rule operated towards inducing the less vagabond gangs of wanderers to adopt a fixed residence, and they seem to have been in the process of achieving this end, when the Criminal Tribes Act was applied and effectually anchored those it caught. That the action then taken has been attended with a large measure of success appears to us to be abundantly proved and to warrant a revival of the policy of checking the wanderings of the remaining sections of these tribes.

When this registration took place in 1873, the more restless and wily of the gangs appear to have escaped notice and they have been wandering ever since, driven about, on the one hand, by the fear of being registered, settled and deprived of the only means of livelihood they understand, and pursued by the notice-to-quit policy, which has been evolved by the police under the guise of surveillance, on the other. Indeed, it would appear that the working of the Act, while tending to settle those who have been registered, has at the same time operated to a large extent to prevent wanderers from adopting fixed habitations by keeping them ever on the move, the officers in charge of police stations passing them on from one jurisdiction to another and hustling their movements to get rid of the nuisance with the least possible delay.

There are still to be found, in the Province, parties of wanderers belonging to most of the settled criminal tribes, and statement III, which accompanies the Annual Report on the Criminal Tribes, shows that wandering Sansis, Baurias, Minas and Harnis are frequently arrested and convicted of offences under the Indian Penal Code. Why, when they are so caught, they are not immediately registered, is not clear. But the majority of the most criminal wanderers are Sansis, who for their own purposes adopt other names and endeavour to make out that they are another people.

Their restriction under the Act.

60. The wandering remnants of registered tribes, other than Sansis, are comparatively few and, wherever found, can be registered under the provisions of Sections 6 and 7 of the Act and subjected to the restrictions prescribed for their particular tribe. But the Sansis, on account of their numbers, present a more complex problem. They style themselves, or are styled by the people, by various names which will be found further on in the report, but there can be no doubt whatever that they belong to the same Sansi tribe as those who have settled down in fixed residences all over the Province. The fact that the wandering Kikans, Bhedkuts, Kanjars, etc., claim Sans Mal as their ancestor goes far to establish the contention that they are the same

tribe. The customs and physical appearance of the two classes are similar, and there is reason to believe that they still intermarry.

In writing of the investigation of Aligarh Kanjar cases in 1883, Mr. Warburton remarked :—

"The Sansiya language is split into different dialects; yet members of the tribe can recognize each other by certain words, although the sections to which they belong may have been separated for centuries; for instance, the Sansiya approvers from the Aligarh District understood the Ludhiana Sansiyas when confronted with them."

In the years 1899 to 1902, the question of the wandering criminal tribes was discussed at some length in the Punjab Government Secretariat, and much matter of great interest is to be found in the printed proceedings at pages 226 to 276 of printed file No. 15, Part III. This discussion resulted in the same conclusions as we ourselves have arrived at in our investigation, and it is expressed by Mr C. J. Hallifax in his note dated 22nd July 1902, at page 245. He wrote :—

"It would appear that those entered (in certain lists) as (*a*) Sansi, Kanjar, Bhedkut, Kikan, Gedari, Habura or Rahluwala are really Sansis of the tribe known also as Bhantu, Bhattu or Chattu of which the principal sub-divisions are the Harar, Barar, Mahla, Bidu, Langah, Mahesh, Kopet and Tetlu (see page 3 Mr. William's report, file No. 26, of 1847) and that some of those entered as (*b*) Bazigar, Bangali, Changar, Gandhila, Nat, Perna, Jogi and Dumara are also real Sansis. The Sansi tribe appears to be the only one with regard to which action is necessary for the supervision of *deras* and the registration of individuals, and it would probably be sufficient at first to confine proceedings against wandering tribes to wanderers who are Sansis."

To the list of names given by Mr. Hallifax by which wandering Sansis call themselves in the Punjab, we have others to add, but the acceptance by Government of the well-justified conclusion that these variously styled gangs are really Sansis, enabled Government, without again obtaining the sanction of the Government of India, to issue to Deputy Commissioners the orders for their registration contained in letter No. 306, dated the 12th September 1902, and, if our reading of the law is correct, it also now empowers Government to treat them under Act III of 1911 in precisely the same way as any other tribe notified under the authority of the old Act. What exactly is the position, under the new Act, of tribes notified and restricted with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council under the old Act, is not certain, but under the provisions of the General Clauses Act such tribes would appear to be in the position of having been notified, registered and restricted under Section 12 of the new Act. The point, however, has been referred to Government for the decision, if necessary, of the Government of India. This being the position of these wandering tribes we refrain from recapitulating in this report the evidence collected during the past forty years to prove their criminality. In any case, if the fresh formal sanction of the Government of India is considered necessary, we presume such sanction could be accorded on the strength of the material already on record. But the opening part, from page 136 onwards, of the Committing Magistrate's order on batch I of the Karnal Kanjar cases of 1897 is interesting and instructive reading, showing the urgent necessity for general action against these organized bands of marauders. An extract, paragraphs 60 to 68, of this order is printed below :—

1.—Never came into collision with Police or raiding parties.

"60. The first thing which strikes me as deserving particular attention is their determination never to come into direct collision with police officials or any raiding party that assaulted their *deras* in force. They kept watches and had informers among villagers who sent them intimation if any party in force wanted to raid their camps. The men would invariably run away leaving the women with children, and perhaps an old or blind man in charge of the camp; they did not offer resistance. Had they been in the habit of showing front or engaging in fights as other dacoits do, they would long ago have attracted the serious attention of the authorities, and would either have been hunted down or captured. In two or three instances they did show fight to the villagers, but this when they saw there was no other possible way of escape, or in self-defence when the villagers wanted to carry off all their property. But, as a rule, the men took to flight, which was rendered very easy, because the *deras* were always encamped in the open near the jungle, which afforded the runaways all sorts of facilities to screen themselves and be lost in the mazes of the wood. The women to whom was given the charge of the camps were, from all accounts, admirable defenders of their property; they never disclosed the names of the men, nor would they give the least information as to their

whereabouts. They would turn out to coquet and revile, and sometimes try to frighten the villagers by threatening to throw upon them their urine, or they would throw down their youngsters at their assailants, and thus show that, if persecuted, they would kill their own children and accuse *zamindars* of murder. These measures and the like were generally sufficient to drive back the people who went in pursuit, but if a *dera* were captured by some zealous thanadar falling upon it in force, they would, without demur, walk into the *thana*. There the *dera* was detained for a fortnight or month, but no signs of the men: so long as it was under surveillance the men kept away. They had their means of communication, and the women managed to go out into the jungles for answering calls of nature, thus conversing with the men. What could the Deputy Inspector do? Stolen property was very seldom found at the camps, and he had eventually to let the *dera* go. By their passivity the Kanjars were able to ward off the danger which criminal communities run of coming into collision with constitutional authority. They never openly defied the majesty of law.

II.—Lived in jungles away from observation; their exclusiveness.

"61. The Kanjars, as already remarked, lived in *sirkis*, or reed huts, in jungles away from villages, and hence their doings never came under the observation of the people. Their exclusiveness was complete; no outsider or stranger could get admission on any pretence whatever into the organisation. They constituted a separate caste who intermarried between themselves and followed peculiar rites and observances. Their omnivorous habits were looked down upon by peaceful inhabitants; they would eat everything, forbidden by any religion whatever, and had no scruples in eating from the hands of a *Chura* or sweeper. They had no bonds of friendship with outsiders, excepting with those who helped them in disposing of stolen property, or who acted as their spies. They had a thieves' slang, or peculiar dialect of their own, which helped them a good deal to distinguish between Bhantus and others. Their exclusiveness was thus another cause which rendered the detection of their ways most difficult.

III.—Precautionary measures—
(*a*) Gangs not sent out on moonlit nights.
(*b*) Villages near camp never molested.
(*c*) Depredations 5 or 6 miles from camp.

"62. The following precautionary measures, which experience has shown to the Kanjars to be conducive to their business, were rigidly observed: (*a*) No gangs were sent out on moonlight nights. This might appear a trifling matter, but it rendered the apprehension of the offenders extremely difficult. (*b*) The fact that they never molested at night the village near which their *deras* were encamped, helped to ward off suspicion. (*c*) Their gangs would commit thefts and robberies in villages or roadside places which were some 5 or 6 miles off. As a rule, the inhabitants of the localities robbed had no knowledge of the presence of the *deras* in their neighbourhood, and hence they could not guess that the Kanjars were the perpetrators of the offence.

(*d*) *Deras* constantly moved.

(*d*) Again the *deras* were never kept for any length of time at one place; generally they were marched off after each theft, and hence even if tracks were followed up, it was difficult to pursue these denizens of the jungle.

(*e*) Villages robbed not visited again.

(*e*) The fact, that a village once robbed was not visited during the same wanderings, reduced the clamour or alarm which would otherwise have been caused. All of a sudden a village was pounced upon by a gang which committed two or three or sometimes four thefts or robberies, and then the offenders disappeared to be heard of no more for months or years. The village became alarmed by the occurrences, but as they were not repeated, no one thought of taking any active measures to find out who the culprits were.

IV.—Superior organization; training for criminal work; method and system in all they did.

"63. The success and ease with which the Kanjars were able to carry on their depredations were due to their superior organization and training as a criminal class. They always went out in gangs of from five to ten men with sticks in hand, and determined to carry off anything that presented itself. They entered the village during midnight, and would mostly rob houses that were on one side of the village, so that if there was a row, they might be able to get away easily. They did not resort to making breaches in the wall, because that would take time: such burglaries would cause much noise and necessitate a report to the *thana* and investigation by the police. They, therefore, took to the easier and less noisy mode of moving the door from its stand—*chula utarna*—and thus got in, or thrust in their hands and unloosened the chain. If they could find houses or huts which had no doors so much the better, but to them the business of *chula utarna* had become a habit, and they did not find any difficulty in effecting an entrance. Usually only one or two men went in stealthily, the others watching on the outside. If he found that any man or men were sleeping in the house, comrades were called in, who, with sticks ready for use, stood at the cot, so that if the sleeping man wakes he will either be frightened or struck so as to disable him from pursuit. The members of the gang stuck to each other in time of danger, and each knew what part he had to play in the business. The thief had always a match box with him, and he would, in the dark night, light a match to see where the property was. If a man, woman or child was fast asleep, a match was lighted to see if he or she had any jewel on. The dexterity with which they were able to take off a *hansli* or *nath* or *murkis* from the person of the robbed was great, and they were always sure of their booty when once they had it in their grip. They knew their own powers, and though they never unnecessarily used violence, they never scrupled to use force if it was necessary for securing the jewels, or for rescuing one of their party. Habituated from childhood to living in the jungle and night prowlings, they always escaped even if pursued; swift of foot, strongly built and armed with sticks, they were more than a match for the poor villagers who were assailed all of a sudden, and who found that before they could get together the thieves had disappeared.

V.—Facilities for disposing of stolen property.

"64. An organization of thieves that had been coming on for generations had the greatest facility in disposing of their booty. They knew their men, and they never breached their confidence with the receivers of stolen property. These persons, either *zamindars*, goldsmiths, or

banias, would go with their cash, etc., into the jungle where bargains were struck and the money paid in cash :—The Kanjars sold things cheap, and so they had many buyers. They very seldom took the stolen property into their camps, but buried it somewhere in the jungle away from their encampments. Hence, even if a raiding party was ever able to pursue them successfully, they never found in the *deras* the property stolen. Even when they were encamped at any place, all valuables were hidden away at a distance, so that if they were surprised, as they occasionally were, nothing of any value was found upon them. True, when on the march, they carried the stolen property on their beasts of burden, but it was very seldom that they were searched while on the march. Moreover, the stolen property was carried on a bullock which went far ahead of the others, so that if a raiding party came up the one load was easily concealed.

VI.—Determination to come to terms if caught.

"65. Notwithstanding all these precautions, if the Kanjars were still caught, they would try to come to terms with the complainants; they were ever willing to buy off the *zamindars* and the police, and for this purpose they could rely upon the general fund; all such necessary expenses were defrayed from the sale proceeds of the stolen property that might be in the lambardars' hands, or they were, according to fixed rules and immemorial custom, levied by contributions from the various *sirkhis* in the same proportion in which the stolen property was distributed. They had thus no difficulty in raising the necessary amount.

General fund and contributions for buying discharges.

VII.—Socialistic rules; provision for support of widows and families of men in jail; ensured secrecy.

"66. The socialistic rules for the division of the stolen property and the provision made for the support of widows and families of persons imprisoned gave the organisation a compactness and secrecy which cannot be accounted for otherwise. They had their code of rules, and the *panchayat*, which settled their mutual disputes, appears to have ensured to them a sort of autonomy. They never brought their quarrels to a court or to an outsider: hence aggrieved members did not have the opportunity of making a clean breast of it.

VIII.—Police helpless or apathetic, though complaints general.

"67. I have thus far glanced at the causes, which in this age of enlightenment and peace, ensured to the *Kanjars* safety though they were committing depredations wherever they went. It must not be concluded that the police had no knowledge whatever of their doings. On the contrary, it appears they knew much, though not so much as has now been disclosed by the approvers. But still the complaints against them were general and almost universal, and the police knew they lived upon crime. Still they went on year after year, no one police officer caring to study their ways or trying to stop their depredations. Two or more constables were kept in charge of each *dera*, but, as will be shown from the evidence of the policemen, they were utterly powerless to prevent the least mischief. On the contrary, they furnished an escort to the *deras*, and it was the interest of the constables who were supposed to watch the *deras*, to prove that the men under their surveillance were innocent. The approvers have stated, all of them, that they used to pay a few annas apiece to every constable on duty, and this kept them quiet. The fact, that the Kanjar *deras* were encamped away from villages rendered the fate of the constables still more pitiable. They were supposed to be in constant attendance, and still they had to go for meals to the villages, because they could not eat from the hands of these low castes who ate everything. Many of the constables were dissatisfied, and they did report to their superior officers, but the only reply they got was to escort them out of their *ilaka* and to get rid of the nuisance.

(*a*) Constables in charge of *deras* acted as escorts.

(*b*) Deputy Inspectors, their indifference.

"68. The Deputy Inspectors really knew not how to deal with these wily criminals; stolen property was not forthcoming and theft could not be proved. Sometimes the Kanjars were *challaned* for vagrancy, but this was very rare. No one cared to bother his head with their doings, more especially as no complainants came forward to charge them with offences. Latterly the Kanjars had become very bold; they had seen that the law could not catch them and the police were apathetic. They had committed burglaries, robberies and dacoities, not one of which had been brought home to them, and they were justified in concluding that their ways were perfect. They had dared to commit robberies and burglaries in the Ambala cantonment, and they had stolen things from railway stations, and still there was no sign of their being held responsible for the crimes. So cleverly did they manage everything that very seldom did any suspicion fall upon them. They would have gone on with their criminal ways but for the accident which brought about their capture at Gurham and the consequent disclosure made by the approvers."

Kanjars became bold and daring.

It may be mentioned that the average number of wanderers convicted under the Indian Penal Code during the past five years is 121 against 99 persons, so convicted from all the registered tribes put together.

So far as we have been able to ascertain, the only attempt made to give effect to the orders of Government, conveyed in letter No 306, dated 12th September 1902, was in Karnal, where 43 Kanjars, released from jail after serving sentences in these Karnal Kanjar cases, and a number of Bazigars were brought on to the register. The latter, however, were not of the wandering criminal fraternity and they proved to the satisfaction of the Deputy Commissioner that they were acrobats of settled habits, earning their living by displaying their feats in the neighbouring villages. Eventually their names were

expunged from the register. In subsequent reports on the working of the Criminal Tribes Act, there is mention of the wandering tribes, especially the Kikans, continuing to give trouble, but no effort appears to have been made to apply the remedy of registration already provided by Government. Some factors contributing to this apparent apathy are probably to be found in the very illusive character of the people to be registered and in the reluctance of officers in charge of police stations to burden themselves with the responsibility of looking after organized bands of criminals when the usual notice-to-quit could free them from the trouble in a few hours. However this may be, the opportunity afforded to district officers in 1902 to stay the wanderings of these pests was neglected, and has remained neglected up to the present day.

MEASURES PROPOSED.

Restriction.

61 We may pass on to the measures now called for to give effect to the policy of Government, decided on twelve years ago, to restrict the movements of wandering Sansis. The census of wandering tribes referred to in paragraph 3 shows that the wandering gangs, admittedly criminal, fall under the names noted in the margin, and at the census were found in the Province in the numbers shown against them. It has been explained already that, with the exception of the Pakhiwaras, who are also probably Sansis converted to Islam at a remote period, and the Harnis, the designations given in the margin are merely functional or local names by which the more undisciplined and wandering sections of the Sansi fraternity are variously known.

Nat ...	4,897	Gandhila ...	378	Mir Shikari ...	77
Kuchband ...	2,346	Kanjar ...	285	Bhagiarmar ...	64
Dhe ...	1,407	Bauria ...	263	Kikan ...	64
Sansi ...	1,188	Bhedkut ...	252	Singikat ...	51
Bhangali ...	1,075	Harni ...	239	Baddon ...	40
Barrar ...	775	Gedri ...	146	Aheria ...	25
Pakhiwara ...	748	Rachhbana ...	128	Bheria ...	13

It was also ascertained at the same census that thirteen other wandering tribes mentioned in the margin, though not professedly criminal, are yet not completely free from suspicion of committing theft and other crimes. The real Badis or Bazigars are acrobats, the Sapelas or Sapadhas are snake charmers, the Pernas are dancers, the Aheris, Naiks and Thoris are low-caste menials, the Gagras apply leeches, the Fakirs, Mochimangs and Bhatras are professional beggars, the Ararpopos are astrologers and palmists, the Mahtams are hunters, the Panwars are a sub-caste of Jats and Sayans and Santhyas are low-caste immigrants from the United Provinces. All these tribes are ordinarily harmless. But with the exception of Bhatras, who go about in the guise of Sanyasi, Udasi, Nirmala and other Sadhus and obtain alms largely by cheating, the Ararpopos, who take advantage of the credulity and superstitions of the people and practise much deceit and the Mahtams who are members of a criminal tribe which has reformed to a very considerable extent, all the other names detailed in the margin are such as are often assumed by the wandering Sansis whose criminal proclivities need no illustration. These tribes of doubtful criminality, therefore, constitute a less formidable danger than the others, although they cannot be ignored altogether.

Badi and Bazigar ...	28,289	Ararpopo ...	316
Sapela or Sapadha ...	2,659	Mahtam ...	95
Perna ...	2,031	Panwar ...	35
Aheri, Naik and Thori	1,660	Mochimang ...	32
Gagra ...	641	Sayan ...	13
Fakir Churimar ...	524	Santhya ...	4
Bhatra ...	284		

There is a strong probability that many real Sansis have misled the enumerators into returning them as belonging to other harmless tribes and that others have escaped enumeration altogether. These wandering Sansi gangs are known as a whole among themselves as Bhantus, Bhattus or Chattus and the tribe is broken up into *gôts* or sub-castes known as Harrar, Barrar, Mahla, Biddu, Langah, Mahesh, Kopet, Tettlu, Kalkhar and Chhadi. They may style themselves by any one of these *gôt* names or be known as Gandhila, Kanjar, Kikan, Bhedkut, Bheria, Arhar, Aheria, Kuchband, Habura, Bhangali, Birtwan, Rehluwala, Gedri, Nat, Mir Shikaris, Behalia, Singikat, Dhe, Singiwala, etc. A distinction must be drawn between the criminal Nat and the acrobats who, with reference to their profession, call themselves by the

names of Nat, Banjara or Bazigar. The latter are probably also of Sansi origin, but they are not generally given to crime and may be distinguished by their ability to perform acrobatic feats.

62. The great difficulty in dealing with these people lies in their numbers and the impossibility of furnishing them simultaneously with an honest means of livelihood which they will voluntarily follow. When recommending the application of Act XXVII of 1871 to the Sansis and some other tribes in 1873, Lieutenant-Colonel Hutchinson, C.S.I., Inspector General of Police, wrote in paragraph 20 of his letter No. 159, dated 2nd August (page 121 of printed file No. 15, part I), as follows :— **Means of livelihood.**

"We must be prepared to produce a state of partial starvation before one of these Ishmaelites will do honest work enough for his support; but I strongly advise no attempt be made to collect them in masses anywhere, which, my experience of the Sansi *kots* of Sialkot teaches me to believe, leads to their encouraging each other to starve sooner than work and makes them numerically strong to resist all good influence. I consider that we should rather strive at keeping them broken up, or, breaking them up into small parties, completely isolating each little party from the other and bringing to bear on each party all the best influence and encouragement we can elicit from the headmen and respectable men of influence in the village in which, or near which, the party is located."

Our investigations in 1914 have led us to the same conclusion as Colonel Hutchinson formed in 1873 that, as far as possible, we should avoid collecting these people together and should endeavour to isolate each little party from the others. We saw in the United Provinces an attempt being made to collect these wanderers into settlements where it was hoped they would at once settle down to industries, but, apart from the difficulty of providing sufficient accommodation for their numbers, there appeared an immediate obstacle in finding simultaneously a suitable means of livelihood for the new comers. These two difficulties have been realized before in connection with the treatment of wandering tribes in the Punjab, and they have always been regarded so insuperable as to condemn any suggestions involving either. We do not propose to suggest these measures again, but we believe that the first step towards settling these nomad criminals lies in registering them and restricting their movements to a given area and allowing them partial freedom of movement within the prescribed limits. The advantages of this system are that, while it does not make it incumbent on Government to find them food, it abolishes the objectionable system of notice-to-quit, it must insure the identity and predilections of the gangs, and indeed of the individuals constituting the gangs, becoming known to the police and the people, so facilitating systematic surveillance and the collection of exact information regarding the real extent of their criminality. We do not claim for the proposal that it furnishes an immediate solution of the difficult problem of reclaiming these wandering criminals, but we do believe that, if put in force, it will prove to be the first step in that direction. At present we know little or nothing about these people, except that they constitute organized communities, living almost exclusively by preying upon the country through which they pass. Mr. Warburton attributed one-third of the crime in the Province to them. Between the admittedly impossible course of Government collecting the wandering tribes and finding means of livelihood for them on the one hand, and leaving them alone altogether to continue their pursuit of crime on the other, we have endeavoured to evolve a compromise which leaves the wanderers free to seek an honest livelihood for themselves within a sufficiently wide area, but which must tend to settle them and at the same time bring to light their numbers, identity and doings. It is possible that when the gangs are first registered and restricted, reported crime may rise in the areas in which the gangs reside, but we shall at least know where to look for the perpetrators; and, as their propensities in this respect become better known, their operations must become less successful. Gradually then, as their opportunities for pursuing their old calling of crime diminish, force of circumstances must compel them to find substitutes, and we anticipate that in this matter they will have no difficulty, when once the desire to discover them has been created. Doubts have been

expressed to us of the possibility of putting this proposal into effect, but in the finger-print system we have a means for controlling the wandering tribes which did not exist in the earlier days, and we believe that Government is far better equipped now for dealing with them than when the attempt was made, not without very considerable success, forty years ago.

We are of opinion that the gangs should be restricted, at any rate in the first instance, to the limits of the police station jurisdiction in which they are found. Within such an area, comprising from 100 to 200 square miles, it cannot reasonably be said that the five to twenty males in a gang would have any difficulty in finding some kind of employment sufficient for the maintenance of themselves and their dependents. It is unlikely that there would be more than one or two such gangs in any one police station area, but to provide against the remote possibility of the people finding insufficient honest means of support in their partial captivity, District Magistrates may usefully be empowered to arrange with the sanction of Government for transfer of gangs from one police station area to another on sufficient cause being shown, or even to arrange such transfers from one district to another. Any member of a gang would also have the option of applying to be placed in a settlement. Transfers, however, should be discouraged as far as possible and the assistance of zaildars, lambardars and influential men should be invoked to the end that the wanderers may, not only be found work, but be induced to settle in one place. That they will so settle down in time, after sufficiently exploring the limits and resources of their run, appears to us certain. They will then be located in isolated groups, scattered throughout the Province and capable of close surveillance at the hands of the villagers and the police, a condition which experience with the settled Sansis and Baurias has shown to be very favourable to reformation.

In dealing with the history of the Sansis, in the early part of the report, it has been shown how the Punjab Government held, and the Government of India accepted, the view that restricting members of a notified tribe, then in a wandering state, to the limits of a village placed them in no worse position for earning their livelihood than they were before. Our recommendations do not go as far as this, for we propose to allow the wandering gangs the choice of a place of settlement from some hundred villages.

Action proposed. Registration.

63. The initial step towards giving effect to the policy recommended would be the issue of a notification under section 12 of the Act, on the authority of the sanction accorded by the Government of India in 1873 or of fresh sanction if it be deemed necessary, restricting the movements of all wandering Sansis, under whatsoever name they may be known, to the area of the police station in which they are found. The notification should specify the names under which the wandering Sansis are generally known as given in paragraph 61. We attach, as Appendix III, a draft notification which appears to us to meet the case. Thereafter orders would be issued to the District Magistrates, under Section 4, to prepare registers of all wandering adult male Sansis, care being exercised to see that gangs are not scared away by the preparations.

The census of wandering tribes has shown that, besides the wandering Sansis, there are also gangs of Baurias, Pakhiwaras and Harnis still in the nomad state. We think that similar action should be taken with respect to them and attach, as Appendix IV, the draft of a notification which, we think, might be issued.

Simultaneous action by District Magistrates.

64. The District Magistrates should act simultaneously and from a given date direct the issue of notices under Section 5 of the Act to all wandering gangs to be registered in their respective districts, requiring all males over the age of 12 to proceed forthwith before the officer authorized to make the registers. There they would be registered and their finger-prints recorded,

each person being given a personal passport in Urdu bearing his name, parentage, alleged name of gang, the name of the headman of the gang, age, left thumb impression, the area of the police station within which he is to reside, the date of registration and the signature of the officer making the register, as prescribed in draft rule 51. The law and rules framed thereunder should be explained at the same time and the registered person required to return to his camp and the area in which he is required to reside. The registration of the wandering criminal tribes could be undertaken at once without any fresh notification, as they all belong to one or the other of the criminal tribes already proclaimed with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. But unless the registration were *accompanied by* the restriction of the gangs to specified area, we should find them melting away and disappearing into the unknown.

In draft rule 51, each such registered wandering person is required to produce his passport when called upon by any magistrate, police officer, village headman or village watchman, and, so long as such person remained within the area of restriction, his passport would defend him from undue interference; but if he were found beyond that area either with, or without, his passport, he would be liable to arrest under Section 25 of the Act.

65. The object of the draft rules 53 to 56 is to provide a system of surveillance over the gangs and at the same time to instil into the wanderers some sense of discipline, a quality in which, after generations of wandering, they are singularly wanting. We would allow them to go about anywhere within the police station jurisdiction during the day, but make it obligatory for them to be present at their encampments during the night. The only possible way of ensuring this is to require the head of each gang to carry a roll-call register to be given to him by the officer in charge of the police station at the commencement of each year, and to make it the duty of the lambardar, within whose jurisdiction a gang happens to be, to hold the roll-call. The lambardars having the power will take good care that the gangs do not encamp too far from the village site and the chief person in the gang will always be on the watch to keep his men together. Every gang has a recognised chief and the police should find no difficulty in fixing the responsibility. Roll-call.

66. While wishing to avoid unduly hampering the movements of registered wanderers, we have provided in draft rule 52 for their giving three days' notice of any intended moves within the restricted area, to the officer in charge of the police station and have empowered the Superintendent of Police to prohibit any move which he considers undesirable. This seems necessary in order that the officer in charge of the police station may be kept informed of the localities where the gangs may, for the time being, be encamped, and also discourage too much moving about. The power given to the Superintendent of Police is intended to enable him to prevent registered wanderers going constantly to a village where they have previously misbehaved or where it is found that they have formed undesirable associations with local bad characters. Notice of movements within the prescribed limits.

67. The proposals relating to the grant of passes, exemptions, transfers to settlements and education, which we have made in respect of the settled criminal tribes in paragraphs 46 to 58, would apply *mutatis mutandis* to the wandering criminal tribes when they eventually acquire fixed residence. But we do not think that any member of such wandering tribes is at present in a fit condition to be selected for an agricultural settlement, nor do we think that there is any wandering gang of such tribes which is reformed enough to be dealt with under Section 10 (*a*) of the Act. The effects of the rules on the wandering gangs of criminal tribes, after they have once been harnessed by registration and restriction within specified limits, will be that the worst characters will be gradually picked out by the law, for crime or breach of the rules and taken to the industrial settlements where they will lose touch with their old associations and come under Other matters.

wholesome influences. The removal of the worst characters, in this manner or at the instance of the District Magistrate with the sanction of Government, must induce the more docile members of the gangs to adopt an honest and permanent means of livelihood.

Simultaneous action in Native States recommended.

68. It seems essential to the success of any measures taken in the Punjab in this respect that the Native States should co-operate and take action on similar lines, so that the elusive wanderers, who at present frequent the States more than British territory, may find all avenues of escape effectually closed against them and be forced into accepting the inevitable. Unless the States do so co-operate, they will assuredly find their territories overrun by the gangs of wanderers, fleeing to escape the restrictions in force in the Punjab. Even at the census of wandering tribes, which was not calculated to cause any great consternation, we found that in many instances gangs, registered at preliminary enumeration in the neighbourhood of Native States, had made good their escape over the border before the final registration could be effected. It seems, therefore, certain that the application of the physical restrictions to these gangs will be accompanied at first by much scurrying to avoid the measure and any area, in which action is not simultaneously taken, must become an asylum for those who can escape, and their numbers will not be small. Eventually the States must be driven into taking action in self-defence. It, therefore, seems desirable to invite their co-operation in the first instance.

CHAPTER IV—GENERAL.

SETTLEMENTS.

Classes of settlements.

69. We recommend the following classes of settlements:—(1) Reformatory Settlement, (2) Industrial Settlements, (3) Agricultural Settlements. The features common to every class of settlement will be that—

(*a*) the settlement shall be under the charge of some officer or non-official who will enforce the prescribed discipline,

(*b*) men shall ordinarily be joined in settlements by their wives and families,

(*c*) every adult male shall be compelled to work for his living, and the females given the opportunity of working,

(*d*) boys shall receive literary and industrial education, and

(*e*) work shall be provided for all able-bodied workers on payment of wages sufficiently large to maintain them.

We wish to lay great stress on the necessity of making the officer-in-charge of a settlement responsible that no member of a criminal tribe be admitted to a settlement unless sufficient means of subsistence can be found for him and that no such member shall remain in a settlement if means of subsistence cannot be provided for him. We have provided the necessary safeguard in draft rules 36 and 38. We wish to make work compulsory in every settlement, but with reference to the Indian Factories Act we have, in draft rule 37, limited the compulsory working hours to 10 for adults and seven for children (including two hours spent at school) between sunrise and sunset. In order to encourage thrift among the workers, we recommend that an officer-in-charge of a settlement should be empowered to invest, in the Savings Bank, part of the earnings of such members as earn more than is necessary for their subsistence, so that it may form a reserve for expenditure on marriages and for other emergent needs. We have found this system in vogue in some of the Salvation Army Settlements and, although the procedure followed at present is open to criticism in some respects, we think the measure is desirable if undertaken with the safeguards which we propose in draft rule 40.

Methods of filling the settlements.

70. The industrial settlements should be filled gradually, but we are of opinion that a number of settlements should be completely organised before they begin to be filled at all. The people for whom the settlements are

primarily required are those who have no honest occupation in their villages and who in consequence go out and commit crime and who are often found out and convicted. The gradual conviction of the very people we wish to place in the settlements appears to offer a suitable means of filling the settlements by degrees. We therefore recommend that all members of restricted criminal tribes, who are punished with imprisonment under the Criminal Tribes Act or who are taken into custody in default of furnishing security under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code, should be sent to the Reformatory Settlement, there to be joined by their families and detained under Section 16 of the Criminal Tribes Act. Registered members of such criminal tribes who are convicted of non-bailable offences under the Indian Penal Code or other laws should, on the termination of their sentences in a jail, be relegated to the Reformatory Settlement, under Section 16 of the Criminal Tribes Act, together with their families. The worst members of the criminal tribes will thus find their way automatically into the distributing centre and thence be transferred, in due course, to other settlements. But these two methods are insufficient and may leave a number of undesirable characters outside. We, therefore, think that the District Magistrates should, in consultation with the special officer, who may be appointed by Government for this purpose, prepare lists of members of restricted criminal tribes in their districts, whom they may consider it desirable to remove to an industrial settlement, and the said officer, with the sanction of Government, should arrange to remove them as far as the capacity of settlements may admit. This will enable undesirables, who evade the operation of the law, to be removed from communities over which they exercise a baneful influence and brought under effective control, without unduly flooding the settlements. Undesirables among the wandering criminal tribes, after they have been restricted to police station jurisdictions may, if necessary, also be gradually removed to settlements in the same way, but they should ordinarily find means of support in the area to which they are restricted. The wandering gangs contain some of the worst criminals and the most untractable characters, and they will require singling out; but the law will effect this process gradually as they offend against it. Draft rules 30 to 32 are framed to give effect to this procedure in the case of both settled and wandering tribes.

Discipline in settlements.

71. While for members of criminal tribes under the ordinary rules, we consider a radius of five miles from their habitation to form a suitable limit to enable them to earn their livelihood, the inmates of settlements should have no occasion, ordinarily, to leave the limits of the settlement in case of industrial, and of the village area in case of agricultural settlements. With the exception of persons exempted from the restrictions of Section 12, all those who want to go outside the said limits during the day should obtain day passes, while those who have to stay away from the residential quarters during the night should get periodical passes.

A regular roll-call of all persons not exempted should be held at night in all settlements, and occasional surprise roll-calls should be resorted to at night by the officer-in-charge. A convenient method of collecting the inmates of a settlement for roll-call is to keep, in a central place, a drum to be beaten whenever they are required to fall in. We found the device successfully used by a lambardar in one of the criminal tribes villages.

Conformity to rules is, of course, obligatory under the Act, but it is desirable, as laid down in draft rule 44, to expressly provide that obedience to all lawful orders, given by the officer in charge, shall be equally obligatory on all the members of a criminal tribe residing in a settlement.

Punishments for breach of discipline.

72. We wish to prescribe the following forms of punishment to be awarded by the officers in charge of settlements for breaches of discipline.

For adults—

(1) A formal warning.

(2) Fine not exceeding one day's wage.

(3) Reduction of wages to one-half for a period not exceeding one week.

We would not authorize heavier fines, for the inmates of settlements will be working with a small margin of profit and the fine of a day's wage will usually be felt, while the reduction of the wage to one-half for a week will probably mean reduced diet for some days.

(4) Stoppage of leave during a period not exceeding one year or loss of other privileges.

This form of punishment is, we think, calculated to have a salutory effect and should be freely resorted to.

(5) Report to the District Magistrate for (*a*) withdrawal of any exemption from restrictions which may have been granted, or (*b*) Prosecution under Section 22 of the Act.

The last provision is an extreme measure. The withdrawal of a hard-earned exemption would have a very deterrent effect, but a man who will not benefit by any of the lighter forms of punishment must be prosecuted and punished for breach of the rules under the Act.

For boys and girls we do not advise the reduction of wages for a number of days. Warnings and instruction to them will be the rule rather than the exception. But we think the fine of the wage earned, in the industrial department, in one day, might be adopted as a light form of punishment. For grosser misbehaviour, we wish to provide corporal punishment, up to twelve strokes on the hand with a light rattan for boys, and up to six for girls, to be administered by or in presence of the officer in charge. The corporal punishment of girls would ordinarily be administered by the officer's wife or by the lady in charge of a girls' school, if any. But where the officer in charge of a settlement is a bachelor, he could ask the father or guardian of the girl to administer the punishment to her in his presence. For boys of a stubborn temperament we also wish to provide solitary confinement not exceeding 48 hours. It should rarely be necessary to award this form of punishment, but the dread of being locked up in a room by himself would have a wholesome effect on the obstinate youth. Boys and girls over 12 years of age, who do not profit by the lighter disciplinary measures, must be reported to the District Magistrate for punishment under section 22 of the Act.

Draft rules 42 to 45 incorporate these disciplinary provisions.

The reformatory settlement.

73. The reformatory settlement should be centrally placed, with arrangements somewhat similar to a jail. This institution should be under the direct charge of an officer of Government and strict discipline should be maintained. Different criminal tribes are adapted to different kinds of work and, being new to any kind of labour, they themselves do not always know the class of work for which they are most suited. It is, therefore, essential to keep the new arrivals on trial for some time in the reformatory settlement till they can be sorted for the kind of settlement which will suit them best with reference to their fitness. This reformatory would also be available for the transfer of undesirables from other settlements. The necessity for such a central institution has been impressed on us by the experience gained at the Salvation Army settlements in the United Provinces, where batches of members of criminal tribes have been kept waiting for days before their destination could be determined and where repeated and unsettling transfers have had to be effected. The frequency of such transfers causes much unnecessary hardship to the members of the tribes and greatly retards the process of their reformation. The necessity for such a central institution has been felt in the United Provinces, where one is being organized in the fort at Najibabad. Similar establishments under Government control are also contemplated in Bombay.

Only one such settlement will be needed, and we suggest that the Amritsar Jail, which is about to be abandoned, be utilized for the purpose. We have carefully examined the buildings and grounds and are of opinion

that, although the structure is totally unfit for use as a jail, yet the buildings can, with a little outlay, be made quite suitable for the requirements of a reformatory settlement and the locality, which may not be sufficiently healthy for a jail population, will do no harm to the members of criminal tribes, who are accustomed to much harder conditions.

74. Industrial settlements will be of three kinds, *viz.*— Industrial settlements. Classes of—

(1) where industries requiring skilled labour, *e.g.*, weaving, durrie-making, etc., will be carried on;

(2) where the men will be employed on some kind of labour, such as woodcutting or carrying, which require little or no skill; and

(3) where labour will be supplied to factories or institutions requiring a large and constant supply of manual labour, (*a*) at fixed places and (*b*) in moveable settlements.

75. The provision of work for members of criminal tribes placed under restriction, whether in settlements or otherwise, is a question of supreme importance, and the selection of industries and forms of labour which should prove lucrative enough for the purpose is beset with many difficulties. In inspecting the settlements of the Salvation Army, we have found that the forms of industry which appear most attractive are the least paying, either because of a limited demand or owing to the keen competition created by machine-made goods. We think that the demand for unskilled labour should be secured as far as possible. Cities and large towns offer facilities for this form of employment. For instance, a couple of hundred men belonging to the criminal tribes could, we understand, be employed all the year round in the Agri-Horticultural Gardens at Lahore and work for another hundred or two could probably be found in some of the local factories or brick-kilns. The residents of a small settlement such as Danepur might develop into, can be easily employed in this manner. Work for classes (2) and (3).

The demand for labour at the railway workshops is unlimited and we believe it should be possible to send a few apprentices to the shops and to add to their numbers when they begin to earn a living. In this way, in time, 500 men could probably be provided for at the railway workshops, where they would not only earn a living, but would be trained as artizans who could command good wages anywhere in the open market. The work of carrying timber at the Doraha timber depôt also appears to afford a possibility for a setttlement of class 3 (*a*) at Chawa in the Ludhiana district, where the nucleus of a settlement already exists. It should also be possible to have moveable settlements of settled or wandering tribes organized with a view to work on canals, roads or railways under construction. The wandering criminal tribes may be easily employed in this manner on making and repairing District Board roads and other public works. Unfortunately, unlike other provinces, the mill industry is still in its infancy in the Punjab, and it is not feasible to count on taking our criminal tribes to the labour market, as is being done at Sholapur and other places in the Bombay Presidency or might be done with advantage at Cawnpore in the United Provinces. We are, therefore, forced to adopt, in great measure, the other alternative of providing the members of criminal tribes with industries at convenient centres.

We trust however that, wherever a Government department can provide continuous work requiring unskilled labour, this should, so far as possible, be reserved for members of criminal tribes. The Changa Manga forests, for example, can easily furnish constant employment, for a couple of hundred families in wood cutting, trollying wood and loading it in trucks; and we see no reason why a settlement of class (2), with a population of 800 to 1,000 souls, should not be established there.

76. As regards other industrial settlements, we recommend for adoption the following industries which, our enquiries show, should be profitable:—(1) carpentry, (2) smithy, (3) net money-bag making, (4) newar-making, Industries for class (1).

(5) small durrie making, mainly of the cheap variety, (6) munj and hemp rope twisting, (7) wood-sawing, (8) basket-making, (9) munj-mat making, (10) rope-net making, (11) grass-broom making, (12) weaving, (13) market gardening and (14) brick-making. Further research would probably reveal other suitable forms of industry, but they must be such as do not require expensive plant. With the exception of weaving, the industries mentioned require little outlay of capital, are easy to learn and are sufficiently remunerative to support people of the status of criminal tribes. The products can be disposed of readily, as they are in common use, and there should be no risk of a slump in the market causing loss. With respect to durrie-weaving, we are opposed to the principle now largely followed by the Salvation Army of producing nothing but articles of the first class, which the public at large do not want and will do not buy. Such may well be manufactured to order when sale is assured, but if the durrie industry is to find a place in our settlements on a considerable scale, we must produce articles which will command a ready sale. The public do not want works of art in which to do up their bedding, but they do require cheap and useful articles in large numbers, and we should have no sentimental scruples in meeting the demands of the majority of customers. Basket-making is an industry which remains untouched. The loppings of the mulberry trees at Changa Manga supply the material, at a trifling cost, and the demand for baskets is enormous. Most of the criminal tribes take easily to weaving, but the initial outlay is heavy, an average loom costing Rs. 70. Only coarser fabrics should however be undertaken, for it has been shown that the finer hand-made cloth cannot compete with the imported mill-made article. We have found that hand-weaving with Salvation Army looms pays just enough to support a man. Market gardening can, under proper supervision, be made profitable in the neighbourhood of large cities like Lahore and Amritsar.

The selection of industries for each settlement will require much care and forethought. We have therefore laid down, in draft rule 37 (1), that the kind of labour or industry on which members of criminal tribes may be employed in each settlement should be determined with the approval of Government. It would be a very great advantage if the Jail Department were asked to train in the industries, prescribed for adoption in industrial settlements, such registered members of criminal tribes as may happen to go to jail. They would then enter the settlements, on their release, with a useful knowledge of the work by which they would have to earn their living, and much time and trouble and waste of good material would be saved in the settlements.

Location of Industrial settlements.

77. One very important principle to be borne in mind in establishing industrial settlements is that they should always be placed where there is a demand for labour or for the articles produced. The Salvation Army Settlement at Kot Mokal furnishes an example of failure following on disregard of this consideration. It is situated 20 miles away from the line of rail, and the cost of carriage of raw material and manufactured articles from or to the railway places under great disadvantage any industry that may be established there We also think that it is a mistake to combine too many industries in one place. A few industries should be selected for each settlement, with due regard to local requirements and facilities, and whole-hearted attention should be devoted to them. In this manner alone can it be possible to work the industries to full advantage and make the settlement self-supporting.

Method of payment in settlements.

78. In all industrial settlements, we recommend the adoption of the contract system of payment by piece-work as far as possible. The members of criminal tribes are lazy by nature and, when starting work, are averse to any forms of payment but a daily wage, which they can depend upon, whether they work or not. But we have noticed that, after a time when individuals have settled down to work, they can do double the work performed by the lazier members of the community. There is no reason whatever why the hardworking man should not be given the benefit of his application, and

why the system of payment by the quantity turned out should not be introduced as early as possible, after allowing daily wages for a time sufficient to train an apprentice. We have accordingly provided for this in draft rule 39.

The control of industrial settlements is not a very difficult task. It is desirable that such institutions should be, as far as possible, enclosed, with only one outlet for ingress and egress, which can be closed at night, for the supervision of the inmates at night is necessary. Suitable existing buildings have been found by the Salvation Army in the United Provinces and a few in the Punjab. Others may be found available but, where it is necessary to build new ones, cheap structures can be erected in the form of a square, with the quarters of the officer in charge at the gateway. Judging from the manner in which the Salvation Army have started industries and regulated them in this province and in other places, it appears that properly-organized philanthropic institutions are quite capable of looking after the management of these settlements.

79. Agricultural settlements will be of two kinds, *viz.*, (1) those consisting of villages in the Chenab Colony, where the criminal tribes of the *bar* have been granted land by Government and (2) those which may be formed hereafter by the grant of crown waste land, on one of the perennial canals to the well-behaved members of the criminal tribes to be selected from different tribes and localities. The two classes of settlements will be essentially different and will require different treatment. Agricultural settlements.

80. It has already been suggested that the criminal tribes of the *bar* which, with the exception of the Gilois, are all cattle-lifters, are not at present capable of being managed by philanthropic institutions. It will be necessary to keep these tribes under the direct control of Government. Each such village, or group of villages where they are small, should, in our opinion, be declared a settlement under Section 16 of the Criminal Tribes Act and placed in charge of a responsible police officer in the manner discussed in paragraph 90. In the Chenab Colony.

It should be noted, in connection with the cattle-lifting criminal tribes, that serious difficulties have been created by allotting land to them in the Chenab Colony in the vicinity of large Government forests, which afford them facilities for concealing numbers of stolen animals. The mistake should be avoided in any land settlement of the kind which may be established in future. It has been mentioned in paragraphs 44 and 45 that a grave defect in the management of the present criminal tribe settlements in the Colony lies in permitting them to build outlying cattle-sheds and to possess enormous herds of cattle, both of which tend to make the detection of stolen cattle a practical impossibility. Rule XVII of the rules under the old Criminal Tribes Act authorized the demolition of all such buildings as may be capable of concealing stolen property, but Act III of 1911 containing no express provision on the subject and the new rules not having been framed, practical difficulty has arisen in dealing with such erections in the Jhang district. We have already said that we consider it undesirable for members of criminal tribes to keep their cattle outside the main village *abadi* at night on any account. Without this prohibition, it is not possible to prevent absence during the night, for the men have the very plausable excuse of staying out in the hamlets to look after the cattle, and the use of a police guard, or any other establishment, for holding a roll-call must be stultified if considerable numbers of men are furnished with an excuse for remaining out of their villages at night. We have, therefore, framed draft rule No. 41 under Section 20 (1) of the Act, enabling the District Magistrate to demolish such cattle-sheds and making the construction of such buildings liable to punishment.

81. Regarding the enormous herds of cattle, kept by these old grazier tribes, we propose, for reasons given in paragraph 44, to empower the District Magistrate to fix the maximum number of horned cattle which members of criminal tribes may keep per plough, and have drafted rule 41 enabling him to do so. Ordinarily 5 head of cattle per plough (2 bullocks, 1 cow or buffalo and 2 calves) are ample, but these people seldom have less Number of cattle to be reduced.

than 12 to 15 heads per plough. As graziers and cattle-breeders of the *bar* forest, they no doubt kept even larger herds, but cultivation is inconsistent with cattle-breeding. The number of cattle held by these tribes, however, will have to be reduced very gradually and it is for this reason that, instead of fixing an arbitrary limit, we advise power being given to the District Magistrate to revise the maximum limit from time to time.

Future agricultural settlements.

82. The agricultural settlements falling in the second class will consist of the best-behaved men who can be selected from the different criminal tribes and should, according to our plan, not only give no trouble but form practical illustrations of the final stages of reclamation of the members of criminal tribes. Selections for grant of land in these settlements should be made with the utmost care by the local officers, and preference should be given to the well-behaved members belonging to the larger communities in places where the land and other means of subsistence are generally known to be insufficient. No member of a criminal tribe should, we think, be eligible for a grant of land if he has had any conviction whatsoever during the last 10 years, has been reasonably suspected of having committed a non-bailable offence during that period or has a general bad repute among the people of the neighbourhood. If selections are made with discrimination, they should secure colonists of a good type, for there are plenty of fine men to be found among these tribes. We have seen it remarked in the old correspondence on the subject that some of the tribes do not want land and refuse to take it, even it be offered to them. After our investigations, we are not prepared to believe this statement No tribe as a whole is averse to agriculture. Indeed, the universal cry of all tribes is 'give us land and behead us if we commit theft.' Although land cannot be regarded as an infallible means of reclaiming tribes in all stages of wickedness—indeed, it would appear to have miserably failed unaided in the case of the *bar* tribes—yet it undoubtedly affords an unequalled means to reclamation when coupled with an efficient system of control and supervision. Left to themselves on the land, these tribes are inclined to neglect the toil of cultivation in favour of an easy life by crime but, with the institution of a firm directing hand, there can be no doubt that every one of them will settle down and, for this reason, we think that no tribe, except those already settled on land in the Chenab Colony, should be excluded from the selections to be made for the new land settlements now contemplated. We propose to take the best men we can get from each, and the qualifications we propose to prescribe will effectually prevent the selection of undesirables.

We do not propose that these settlements should be homogeneous. There is no object in placing all selected members of one tribe in one particular place. Indeed the mixing up of the selected members of several tribes should make a settlement easier to manage and should minimise the risk of the inmates reverting to their old criminal habits.

Most of the persons placed in these settlements will be those who have already practically reformed themselves or are well on the way to reformation. They will not, therefore, require much supervision. But they will still, at best, be in a transition stage and, unless their career is carefully watched and they are helped with good influences, there will be the risk of their abusing the privileges instead of completing their reformation. They will be in a stage when association with the police will be unnecessarily irksome to them and will serve no useful purpose. On the other hand a philanthropic society, imbued with sympathy and kindness, should be able to greatly accelerate their reformation. We, therefore, propose that all such settlements, *i.e.*, of class (2) should be placed in the hands of a philanthropic body or bodies.

Terms of grant.

83. We propose that the land should be granted to members of criminal tribes, in the first instance as tenants-at-will, through the philanthropic body. The entry in the revenue records should be:—

> "Proprietor, Government through the officer in charge of Salvation Army or other philanthropic body's settlement; tenant, A.B., tenant-at-will under the officer in charge of the settlement."

The distribution of land should be made by the Colonization Officer or Deputy Commissioner, in consultation with the officer in charge of the settlement. The tenants should be liable to ejectment on conviction for a non-bailable offence or for an offence under the Criminal Tribes Act or for misconduct, adjudged by the special officer, to be appointed by Government, or the District Magistrate. In all cases of ejectment the persons concerned, unless they are sent to jail, would be transferred with their families to the Reformatory or to an industrial settlement. The grants of land should be subject to the payment of the usual land revenue, cesses and occupiers' rates, together with a *malikana* at double the ordinary rates, *i.e.*, Rs. 2 per acre of crops. The higher rate of *malikana* would be justified in view of the fact that all initial outlay in building houses, water-courses, &c., and providing bullocks, seed and other agricultural implements would have to be met by Government, and the extra income thus secured should be utilized in defraying the supervision charges.

In order to create attachment to the land, it is necessary to promise some measure of fixity of tenure, but the period of probation, in the case of colonists from among the criminal tribes, should be sufficiently long to show that they are not likely to again lapse into crime and return to their old habits. We would, therefore, recommend that a tenant may be granted occupancy rights after 15 years, if during that period he has not been reasonably suspected of committing any non-bailable offence and the Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate are satisfied that he has completely reformed himself. The special officer, appointed by Government for the administration of criminal tribes, should also be consulted before such rights are conceded.

On the grant of occupancy rights, the *malikana* should, we think, be halved, *i.e.*, reduced to the usual rate of Re. 1 per acre of crops as it will by then be possible to decrease the cost of supervision. After the grant of occupancy rights, no tenants should be liable to ejectment, except on conviction for a non-bailable offence. Every tenant, who has been granted occupany rights, must have earned his exemption from the restrictions of the Criminal Tribes Act in the ordinary course, even if the whole of his tribe has not been discharged. He will, therefore, not be liable to punishment under the Criminal Tribes Act. We do not, at present, recommend the grant of proprietary rights to the members of criminal tribes settled in the above manner. It is necessary that they should have ever before them the dread of losing their land by laying themselves open to a conviction. But a stage may be reached, a generation after the grant of occupancy rights, when it may be possible to safely grant proprietary rights, and it will then be no longer necessary to subject a village to the control of even a philanthropic body.

We think 10 acres of irrigated land should ordinarily suffice for the requirements of a family of the criminal tribes. Considering that they need not be placed in a better position than the ordinary tenants of private landlords in the canal colonies, who seldom get more than half a square per plough or family, out of which they pay half batai to the landlord together with half the land-revenue, cesses and occupiers' rates, and half the revenue and rates being less than the value of half the produce, the members of criminal tribes who will have to pay no batai could probably live on considerably less than half a square. But the grants proposed are intended for the best behaved of the tribes and should be given with reasonable liberality. We, therefore, think that 10 acres will not be too much for each family. In other words, five families should be allotted two rectangles (of 25 acres each) on the Lower Bari Doab Canal. We should make it a condition of the grant that no land, given to a member of a criminal tribe, should be cultivated by a person other than himself, his son or a near relative, the object of this being to prevent the farming out of the land, leaving the tenant or occupier free to idle. We would also discourage cattle-breeding, as likely to lead to cattle-stealing and we would

limit the number of cattle to be kept by such colonists to 5 horned cattle per plough, including the two bullocks. Ordinarily an agricultural settlement should be sufficiently large to provide for 100 families and should comprise 1,000 acres of irrigable land (excluding grazing area).

Amount of land needed.

84. It is difficult to foretell, with any degree of accuracy, how much land will eventually be required to complete the purpose we have in view, but these land settlements should be formed gradually and the immediate requirements should be met by Rakh Adian in the Gujranwala district and a further grant of 20,000 acres, out of the 30,000 acres set apart for the depressed classes in the colonization scheme of the Lower Bari Doab Colony.

Plan of villages.

85. Agricultural settlements should, we think, be constructed in the form of some of the colony villages, with an enclosing wall and provision for one outlet only, so that the door can be closed at night and roll-calls facilitated, should they be found necessary, which is unlikely in view of the careful selection of the inmates.

Officer in charge to be lambardar.

86. The officer in charge of an agricultural settlement of the second class should be appointed lambardar of the village and should be entrusted with the duty of collecting the land revenue, occupier's rate, etc., and paying it to Government. The lambardari fee would form part of the grant-in-aid to be made by Government towards the supervision charges.

Education and industries.

87. As laid down in paragraph 57 every agricultural settlement should be equipped with a school to impart literary instructions to the young, thus providing a future outlet for the surplus population of the settlements. Simple but paying industries should also be gradually organized and encouraged in the settlements, as a secondary occupation for the people.

AGENCY TO BE EMPLOYED IN THE SETTLEMENTS.

Past arrangements.

88. The work of reclamation of the criminal tribes has, in the past been left to the spasmodic efforts of local officers who have from time to time formulated proposals for the declaration of tribes as criminal, the restriction of their movements or the location of a police post to enforce the provisions of the law. A list of villages where a contingent of police is posted for this purpose is given in the margin. But the work has been conducted so far without a definite policy.

In Shahjahanpur, district Gurgaon, 3 Constables, costing Rs. 409 per annum.
In Ludhiana district, over the Harnis, 3 Head Constables and 17 Constables, costing Rs. 3,045 per annum.
In the *kots* of Sialkot, 1 Sub-Inspector and 20 Constables, costing Rs. 3,832 per annum.
In the Lyallpur district, over the *bar* tribes, 1 Head Constable and 4 Constables, costing Rs. 788 per annum.
In the Jhang district, over the *bar* tribes, 9 Constables, costing Rs. 1,228 per annum.

Assistance of philanthropic institutions.

89. The experience gained with these and other similar posts over a long number of years tends to show that supervision by low-paid police, or specially appointed jemadars, does not help the process of reclamation of the criminal tribes to any considerable extent. On the one hand, such agencies are often capable of being bought by the criminals, who can afford to place strong temptations in their way, and on the other, they lack the strong moral influence which, when exercised by sympathetic people imbued with philanthropic zeal, has a wonderful effect on persons in the position of these tribes. Punitive and coercive measures have long beset the lives of these people and they are at present in various phases of reclamation, vacillating between fear of the law on one side and hunger and crime on the other. If, at this stage, we can introduce sympathetic agencies to them and encourage them in honest forms of occupation, we need have no fear of the result in the case of the large majority of hereditary criminals. Such sympathy and interest cannot be expected from paid official agency and it must be sought in the ranks of philanthropic volunteers, where enthusiasm for the good of mankind runs high. We are fortified in this view by the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Starte of the Bombay Civil Service after his four years' exprerience of settlements of criminal tribes, in the Bombay Presidency, under direct Government management.

Given this good influence working among the people in their homes helped by arrangements for remunerative employment, and supported from without by a firm but sympathetic control, we feel convinced that the reclamation of these tribes will be well within sight. We recommend, therefore, that Government should avail itself of the services of philanthropic institutions as far as possible, except where newly proclaimed tribes are still too lawless to benefit from their ministrations, as in the case of the *bar* tribes which have only been subject to the Act a few years or the troublesome individuals sent into the reformatory settlement.

90. For the *bar* tribes, we propose that a punitive police post should be located in each village or group of villages, consisting of a specially selected Inspector or Sub-Inspector of Police with four constables as his personal guard. These villages are in the Chenab Colony and the members of the tribes have generally sufficient land and cattle from the income of which they can pay the cost of the post without difficulty. The villages being declared agricultural settlements, the police officer, who should be chosen for his honesty, tact and general fitness for the work, should be able, not only to enforce the rules in respect of the restrictions imposed on the tribes, but also to discourage them from the misuse of their resources and to assist them in settling and paying off their debts, which in some cases are most embarrassing. After careful investigation, we believe that a senior officer of the standing mentioned, especially if carefully selected, will do much towards helping on the reclamation of these recalcitrant tribes. Not only will his position and experience enable him to detect offences without delay, but his influence and prestige will carry weight with the people in the smaller affairs of life. With his small staff he will, in our opinion, be of much greater utility than a larger and more costly punitive post of the usual kind which, beyond imposing a heavy fine on the village, is of little practical value. **Punitive police posts.**

91. We recommend the employment of non-official agencies only in connection with certain classes of settlements established under Section 16 and, as Government is to practically finance these institutions, it follows that the agencies employed in charge of them should be guided by the general principles formulated by Government. The working of the agencies will consequently fall wholly within the purview of the Act. **Control over non-official agencies.**

92. The Salvation Army is the only philanthropic organization now working for the reclamation of criminal tribes. Their guiding principles in dealing with the criminals are laid down on page 32 of the pamphlet called "Criminocurology" written by Commissioner Booth-Tucker. They are (1) punitive, (2) deterrent, (3) preventive and (4) curative. The first two objects are said to be served by the enforcement of the law in the ordinary manner, but the Salvation Army direct their attention to the last two principles, prevention and cure. Their system consists in concentrating the criminals in settlements, finding work for them, preventing them from pursuing crime and gradually weaning them, by education and personal influence, from their criminal habits. **Salvation Army methods.**

93. We have visited all the Salvation Army settlements in the Punjab except that at Kot Adian, which is only just being organized, and below is a brief note on each :— **Salvation Army settlements.**

(1) *Danepur* is situated at one end of the civil station of Lahore beyond the Central Jail and consists of a set of buildings, sufficient to accommodate the officers and 200 members of the criminal tribes, together with 30 acres of land. Adjoining the existing buildings, there is enough space available for barracks to accommodate 800 more persons. But the day we visited the settlement, there were only 30 inmates, 11 of whom were youthful prisoners from the Borstal Jail who had been sent

there to serve the last few weeks of their terms of imprisonment, the remaining 19 being Sansis. The settlement was originally intended for members of the criminal tribes, but difficulty being experienced in getting them to enter voluntarily, the institution welcomed youths from the Borstal Jail, rather than remain idle.

The occupations pursued were agriculture, dairy-farming, silk-reeling and weaving. We found that the dairy was capable of expansion, that the Agri-Horticultural Gardens could employ 150 to 200 persons, that market-gardening could be pursued with profit and that it would be possible to place youths as apprentices in the railway workshops. We understand that, since our visit, the number of prisoners transferred from the Borstal Jail has increased, and that it has been found possible to keep a large gang regularly at work in the gardens. Whether, in the event of this settlement being fully utilized for the reclamation of criminal tribes, it will be desirable to have a stream of young criminals continually flowing through their midst is open to question. The combination does not seem a happy one.

(2) At *Changa Manga* in the Lahore District, the settlement is at present located in a rented *serai*. This could be purchased and used for silk-rearing and reeling which might pay together, in view of the facilities offered by the mulberry trees in the forest. We have found reeling alone from purchased cocoons working at a loss in all the settlements we have seen. There is a great field for labour in the forest, where 400 or 500 men could be employed in wood-cutting from October to March and a lesser number for the remaining months of the year. The loppings of young shoots from mulberry and other trees could provide for basket-making on an extensive scale. The opening here is capable of much development.

(3) *Sir Louis Dane Weaving School,* in the Fort at Ludhiana, is at present more for the instruction of weavers than for criminal tribes, but the former do not seem to take much advantage of the institution. It would make an admirable school for boys, and Commissioner Booth-Tucker, while desiring to maintain the weavery for instructing weaving masters and the carpentry shops for the manufacture of looms, is prepared to devote the remainder of the fort to this purpose.

(4) *The Chawa settlement,* situated in an old *serai* some 19 miles from Ludhiana, is at present occupied by 125 Sansis who have been persuaded to enter voluntarily. There is accommodation now for 500 people and ample room for more buildings. The question of suitable employment arises here. It would have to be industrial and, in view of the plentiful supply of wood available at Doraha, three miles away, the carpentry works and perhaps part of the loom-making now done at Ludhiana might be transferred to Chawa. Other suitable industries could, no doubt, be found, and there is probably an opening at Doraha in connection with the carriage of wood at the timber depôt.

(5) *Kot Mokal* in Sialkot is more in the nature of a missionary effort than an industrial settlement, and it is not capable of becoming anything else. The Kot Mokal village has already more people in it than it can support, and it is hoped to move the surplus population to Kot Adian when the land promised by Government is available. It is too far from the railway to

ever become a successful industrial settlement. It has been in existence for over three years, and the buildings, consisting of quarters for the staff and a small factory, are situated just outside the village. The staff consists of a European Officer and his wife, two instructors and menials. The cost is Rs. 153 per mensem. The institution finds employment for 12 Pakhiwaras, mostly boys, in weaving, 3 in carpet-making, and from 6 to 8 in the fields, or about 20 in all. Payment is made by the day at the rate of 4 to 6 annas. The industries do not pay and consequently cannot, as at present organized, be extended.

One of the good features of the settlement is the school with 36 boys on the rolls. Of the number, 13 are Pakhiwaras. The attendance seems regular, but shows no tendency to increase, the reason probably being that parents are afraid of the conversion of their boys to Christianity.

(6) *Kot Adian*, a new settlement now being started, will be principally agricultural and is unlikely to be able to do more than find an outlet for the surplus population from Kot Mokal and the Sansi *kots* of Sialkot. If it does this, it will serve an excellent purpose.

After having formed a general idea of the conditions prevailing in this province, we entered the United Provinces and visited the following settlements under the charge of the Salvation Army :—(1) the Hewettpore settlement at Aligarh, (2) the Boys' School at Ruru (Cawnpore), (3) the Girls' School at Phulpur (Allahabad), (4) the Rajabad settlement at Bareilly, (5) the Chanmari agricultural settlement, (6) the Dumdamma industrial settlement at Moradabad, and (7) the agricultural settlement at Newadah. We also collected information about the Kashipur agricultural settlement and the proposed penal settlement at Najibabad, now being organized. It may be noted that, except for help given by the police in sending people into the settlements, the work of reclamation of the tribes in the United Provinces is now completely in the hands of the Salvation Army.

The merits of their work.

94. In the Punjab, the Salvation Army commenced their work some five years ago and have made a very good beginning. In the United Provinces, some of their settlements, such as Gorakhpur, are much older, but those which we had the opportunity of visiting had not been in existence for more than two or three years. We found them doing splendid work in the boys' and girls' schools and, where male adults had been sufficiently long in one settlement, there was clear evidence of their having settled down to work wherever sufficient occupation was available. The discipline was generally good, except where an inexperienced officer, either fresh from Europe or new to the Province, was in charge. The effect of the constant presence in their midst of European officers, who set practical examples of plain-living and honest-thinking and who, even in spite of their occasional inexperience, evince in the most practical manner possible their entire devotion to the best interests of these downtrodden people, is marvellous. It is evidenced by the confidence which the officers are able to inspire in these ordinarily unmanageable and traditionally unconfiding people. But we were disappointed in many settlements to find that sufficient occupation was not provided for the inmates. In fact, it appeared that the settlements had been filled without previously organizing sufficient means of livelihood. There is room for improvement in the enforcement of restrictions at the settlements, but no one can be blamed until comprehensive rules have been framed and some supervising authority has been made responsible for seeing that they are properly enforced.

Our general conclusion about the success of the Salvation Army as an agency for reclaiming the criminal tribes is that, where sufficient means of livelihood are provided and the right stamp of officer is placed in charge of

a settlement, the influence for good is wonderful. But it is idle to expect that, when the number of inmates in settlements is large, the Salvation Army Officers will prove capable of managing their charges unaided by official support.

We found the industrial settlements generally working at a loss. This, to a certain extent, is inevitable as apprentices must, in learning, work at a loss, and every settlement of the kind must have a number of drones; but a contract system of payment should do much to remedy this. We noticed that, while weaving and money-bag making were profitable, silk-reeling always more than drained off the profits. Durrie-making seems to pay, but there is very small demand for the class of expensive durries which are manufactured. With a development of the industries on sound business lines, the present difficulties should largely disappear.

Other agencies.

95. In compliance with His Honour's instructions, explained in paragraph 3 of the letter appointing the Committee, we invited the more important Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh societies, named in the margin, to consider the question of undertaking the work of reclamation of the criminal tribes on lines similar to those adopted by the Salvation Army, and to tell us whether they would be prepared to assist Government in this respect. The Dev Dharm Samaj have replied, saying that they are not prepared to undertake the duty. The two Arya Samajes, the Sanatan Dharm Sabha, the Anjuman-i-Islamia and the Chief Khalsa Diwan are considering the question, but have presented no practical proposals yet. We are of opinion that there is ample scope for philanthropic societies in the field of reformation of the criminal tribes. The Sanatan Dharm Sabha could, for instance, render useful service by helping to reclaim the Tagus of Karnal, the Arya Samaj could take over some of the Sansi *kots* of Sialkot, the Anjuman-i-Islamia could assist in the reformation of the Harnis of Ludhiana, the Bilochos of Karnal or the Bhats of Sialkot and the Chief Khalsa Diwan might undertake the reclamation of Baurias of Gurgaon or Mahtams of Lahore, provided that they are able to produce men competent to undertake the work and to satisfy Government that their organizations are strong enough to maintain a vigorous and persistent effort. We consequently advise the trial of such philanthropic institutions in the easier task of reclaiming the settled and partially reformed criminal tribes. The Salvation Army, which has already shown special aptitude for dealing with this class of work, may, on the other hand, be moved to take in hand the worst characters among these tribes, who will be transplanted gradually to the industrial settlements and the members of criminal tribes in the final stages of reclamation, who may be placed in newly-formed agricultural settlements.

1. Arya Samaj, Wachowali.
2. Arya Samaj, Anarkali.
3. Anjuman-i-Islamia.
4. Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam.
5. Dev Dharm Samaj.
6. Sanatan Dharm Sabha.
7. Khalsa Diwan.
8. Chief Khalsa Diwan.

Remuneration of non-official agencies.

96. The Salvation Army started their settlements on their own initiative, but they have, with a few exceptions, been made a free grant of land, or an old building has been placed at their disposal, and they have generally been helped by Government with grants for initial outlay on buildings and equipment. They have also received, from time to time, recurring grants by way of contribution towards the cost of supervision, wherever their working appeared to be successful. We have found, by going into the figures, that these recurring grants are roughly equivalent to the present cost of the establishments. Considerable grants are at present made from the head-quarters of the Salvation Army, but these go principally to meet the losses incurred, partly in the initial stages of teaching, when much good material is wasted, partly by pursuing unprofitable industries and partly by the system of payment by the day which encourages idleness.

If Government decide to organize to reclaim the criminal tribes on an extensive scale, they will obviously have to meet the whole of the initial outlay and the full amount of the supervision charges, if the settlements are worked

through non-official agency, whether it be the Salvation Army or some other Society, and the institutions may be left to finance the settlements so far as the current income and expenditure are concerned. In the case of the Salvation Army, Government would gain an exceedingly cheap agency imbued with philanthropic zeal, which is admirably suited to the work of reforming the tribes by personal contact and influence; and it is to be hoped that any other Society coming forward to undertake the work will prove equally enthusiastic and suitable. The work is one calling for great zeal, tact, perseverance and self-denial, but it has the charm of elevating a considerable body of human beings who have hitherto been hated and harried.

THE CENTRAL STAFF.

97. We have tried to show that the reclamation of the criminal tribes has suffered in the past for want of a definite policy. If it is now decided to pursue the policy which is recommended in this report, then it will be necessary to appoint a special officer of Government to control generally all the work connected with the criminal tribes, to see that it proceeds on uniform lines in all parts of the Province and to enforce the regulations in respect of the members of criminal tribes under various degrees of restraint and in the different institutions. **Necessity for a special officer.**

If our proposals to develop the system of settlements are accepted, a considerable amount of organization will be required in getting them into working order, in arranging and regulating the supply of inmates and their transfer from one settlement to another, in seeking out suitable industries to be pursued in the settlements and in arranging for other forms of labour to be placed at the disposal of the people. We feel convinced that the Salvation Army officers cannot, by themselves, be expected to organize this system, any more than they can be relied upon to enforce the requisite discipline unaided.

The reformatory settlement, which will be under Government control, will need special care, and the work of distributing the recruits to the different settlements, with reference to their adaptability for work, will be by no means an easy task. Again the tribes under direct management will require much attention to detail, for which it will be too much to expect the over-worked district officers to find time. The organization of settlements, which may be worked through other philanthropic institutions, will involve no little labour and the working will have to be carefully supervised, at all events for the first few years. The Reformatory School for Boys, to be established under section 17, and the selection of children for removal thereto will need much care and attention. Then apart from the settlements, the work of pursuing this reclamation of the criminal tribes would be incomplete without provision being made for closely watching the villages inhabited by such tribes. They have hitherto been left to work out their own salvation and many of them have, it is true, succeeded to a surprising extent, but there is much that can be done in the way of picking out undesirable incorrigibles and also in moving to labour centres the small surplus populations to be found in almost all these villages. Both the incorrigibles and the surplus unoccupied people tend to the continuance of the old traditions and their removal is called for in the interests of the better-behaved. All this and much other work, which must arise in connection with the residential tribes, would justify the creation of a special agency, but, in addition, there is also the unknown quantity represented by the hitherto untouched wandering tribes. Of the necessity of registering and restricting these dangerous criminals there can be no doubt, and what developments may take place when this is first done, it is difficult, at the present stage, to foresee; but problems and difficulties are certain to arise calling for prompt and close attention.

It also seems advisable that such special officer should, from time to time, visit the abodes of the different registered criminal tribes in the Province and take such measures as may be necessary for the efficient management of

non-restricted members of these tribes and of such other tribes as may in future develop into professional criminals. The special officer should also be able to interest himself in unearthing the absentee members of restricted criminal tribes who have not settled down in honest professions.

The Bombay Government have had a civilian on special duty for over three years and have just extended the period by two years. This officer has recently submitted a report recommending the continuance of the appointment for a further period of three years. In the United Provinces, the Joint Judicial Secretary has been specially entrusted with the work, being assisted by a Superintendent of Police on special duty, working solely in connection with the criminal tribes. We have consulted the Bombay Officer, Mr. Starte, in this connection, and he is very strongly of opinion that the management of the criminal tribes cannot be carried on without the deputation of a whole-time officer. For the above reasons we recommend that a special officer be appointed for the administration of the criminal tribes.

Proposed status of the officer.

98. This officer should, we think, be of sufficiently high standing to advise Government on the one hand and to be heard by the district officers on the other. His status should, we think, be that of a Deputy Inspector General of Police or a Deputy Commissioner of the 2nd grade. A great deal of the work would be connected with police officers and a good knowledge of the criminal tribes would be essential, although in the beginning the organization of the agricultural and other settlements would require insight into the details of revenue and executive administration, for which a civilian would be particularly suited.

Special Officer's staff.

99. The special officer will have to carry on a very considerable correspondence and will have to be a great deal on tour. We think it will be necessary to give him an establishment consisting of a head clerk, a record-keeper, a camp clerk, a typist, two orderlies, and an office peon.

His head-quarters should be at Lahore, where he can be in touch with the Secretariat, although he will have to spend a good deal of his time at Amritsar, if the reformatory settlement is established there.

The District Officers not to be dissociated from the work.

100. In the rules, we have provided for the control to be exercised by the special officer. But, although we contemplate centralizing the control of the settlements and the tribes, yet the district officers should not be disassociated from the work of reformation carried on either in or outside the settlements, which should continue to form part of the district administration. We have consequently provided in draft rule 48 that the District Magistrates, Sub-Divisional Officers, Superintendents of Police, and officers superior to them in rank shall be official visitors in respect of all settlements or reformatory schools and may record such remarks for the consideration of the special officer as they may consider necessary.

ESTIMATED COST OF PROPOSALS.

Total population to be dealt with.

101. We have not taken an enumeration of the total population of registered criminal tribes. But the figures of villages with twenty members or more obtained by us show that the proportion of male adults over 12 years of age to the total population is about one to three. The total number of male adults registered up to the end of 1912 was 21,215. It may, therefore, be assumed that the families of registered members of criminal tribes aggregate some 63,000 persons.

The census of wandering tribes of criminal propensities shows that about 14,500 persons belong to such tribes as should be brought immediately under restriction, and other tribes which should be watched, and may have to be notified in the near future, aggregate about 26,500 souls. Besides these, there are numerous members of the notified settled criminal tribes who have, for one reason or another, escaped registration and who will, with the rigorous enforcement of the law now recommended, come under registration. There are, therefore, on the whole 70,000 to 80,000 people, who require to be dealt

with at once, and some of the 26,500, under observation, may also come within the purview of the Act later on. It is impossible to foretell with any degree of certainty how many of these people will find honest occupation in the ordinary course. But we should be prepared to take charge, eventually, of one in every four members of criminal tribes, although it is possible that it will not be found necessary to actually work up to this estimate.

The number already provided with land.

102. There are over 3,300 members of criminal tribes in the Sialkot district. The 11 *kots* in that district, when properly managed as settlements, are not capable of supporting, on the 6,417 acres of land at their disposal, more than about 2,000 of this population. Three acres of unirrigated, or partially irrigated, land per head is, we find, about the least on which people can eke out an honest existence.

The villages in the Chenab Colony, which we propose to constitute into settlements under police control, have a total population of 3,389 and they are fairly well off, so far as the provision of occupation is concerned. This disposes of some 5,000 of the 20,000 persons who may have to be provided for.

Number of new settlements proposed.

103. We propose that we should work up to 10 industrial settlements capable of accommodating 500 persons each, and 20 agricultural settlements each with an area of 1,000 acres, sufficient for the maintenance of 500 persons. This would enable Government to accommodate some 15,000 persons, *i.e.*, all the members of criminal tribes who require attention.

We propose that selections to fill two-thirds of the new agricultural settlements should be made as soon as possible, the remaining one-third being developed gradually as persons behaving well in industrial settlements become eligible for grants of land.

As regards the industrial settlements, those which will serve as labour-supplying agencies should be organized at once The others should be developed gradually as the number of members of criminal tribes, to be provided for in such settlements, increases.

Suggested industrial settlements.

104. We offer the following suggestions as to the localities where the industrial settlements might be established :—

Place.	*Remarks.*
1. Lahore (Danepore) ...	... The present Salvation Army settlement can be developed.
2. „ (Moghalpur)	... A new settlement can be established for accommodating workers to be supplied to the railway.
3. Amritsar ...	... The Reformatory settlement. The old jail is suitable for the purpose.
4. Changa Manga ...	... For wood-cutting and basket making.
5. Chawa ...	... For carpentry and supply of labour to the Doraha timber depôt.
6. Karnal ...	... It might be possible to secure one of the old Grass-farm barracks for the purpose of the settlement.
7. Shahpur ...	... The jail, which is to be abandoned, might be utilized for the purpose.
8. Lyallpur ...	... A settlement for the supply of labour to the railway station, *mandi* and factories would be useful and remunerative.
9. Montgomery ...	... A similar settlement could in course of time be established here.
10. Rewari ...	... No building is available.

Location of agricultural settlements.

105. As regards the new agricultural settlements, we understand that the following land is available :—

Karnal.

In the Karnal district, Bir Kandakheri, measuring 1,639 acres, and Teh Bari, with an area of about 769 acres, can be colonized with irrigation from the Western Jumna Canal. These Birs were intended for people evicted from Delhi, but they have seen the land and have rejected it. We suggest that the land be given to members of criminal tribes. The Canal Department have computed 24 per cent. of the former and 31 per cent. of the latter as irrigable, which provides a total irrigable area of about 632 acres; but we understand that the percentage of irrigation is capable of enhancement. Reckoning upon the irrigation of 32 per cent. of this land, there would be some 800 acres of irrigated land with about as much more cultivation depending on rain. These two Birs, lying close together, could be formed into one settlement and the land could support about 100 families. There are also in Karnal some 250 acres of land which have escheated to Government, owing to the death of people who have left no heirs, and it is expected that another 100 acres will become available, almost immediately, in the same way. These lands would suffice for the well-behaved members of the criminal tribes in the Karnal and Gurgaon districts who have not sufficient means of livelihood.

Upper Chenab Colony.

106. We understand that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor would not be averse to the 7,500 acres of land, reserved on the Upper Chenab Canal for a mulberry plantation being utilized for agricultural settlements. This area, if fully irrigated, should be sufficient for seven settlements. We do not, however, consider it advisable to place a number of settlements together, and so do not recommend locating more than two settlements, comprising 2,000 acres of land, on the Upper Chenab Canal, provided that the rest of the land is also allotted for cultivation, for it would be unwise to settle criminal tribes in the vicinity of a forest.

Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony.

107. We recommend that the remaining settlements should be scattered over the Lower Bari Doab Colony in convenient places. They should be formed out of the 30,000 acres of land earmarked, in the colonization scheme, for the depressed classes. The location of these settlements might be decided by the special officer in consultation with the Deputy Commissioner and the Colonization Officer.

Cost.

108. At this stage, an estimate of the cost of a scheme of this nature can be but rough; nevertheless in the following paragraphs we shall attempt to give an idea of the approximate cost, initial and recurring, of the administration of criminal tribes on the lines suggested.

The initial expenditure.

The industrial settlements.

109. The cost of building and furnishing an industrial settlement of an average type, capable of accommodating 500 persons and equipped with weaving, carpentry, smithy, etc., would be approximately Rs. 20,000 as shown in the margin. In other words, the initial outlay on an industrial settlement works out to Rs. 40 per head. Ten such settlements should cost Rs. 2,00,000. In order to arrive at an average figure which would cover industrial settlements of different types, we have assumed, for purposes of calculation, that numerous industries will be pursued in one settlement. But it must not be understood that we advocate such a course.

Buildings.

	Rs.
Barracks containing 125 houses at about Rs. 50 per house ...	6,500
Quarters for officers, two married and one unmarried ...	3,000
Factory for 250 workers at 20 square feet each (5,000 square feet)	5,000
Latrines	300
Tube-well for drinking purposes	200
Total ...	15,000

Equipment.

	Rs.
Weaving, 30 men at Rs 75 each	2,250
Durrie-making, 50 men at Rs. 10 each	500
Carpentry, 40 men at Rs. 12 each	500
Smithy, 40 men at Rs. 12 each	500
Nawar-making, 30 persons at Rs. 2 each	60
Rope-making, 60 persons at Re. 1 each	60
Extras	130
Total ...	4,000
Add miscellaneous expenditure, such as travelling expenses, etc.	1,000
Total cost ...	20,000

The Reformatory settlement.

110. The reformatory settlement will probably cost a little more. A great deal of residential accommodation is available in the Amritsar jail, but the repairs needed will, according to the estimate given in the margin, cost about Rs. 20,000, besides which some Rs. 5,000 will be needed for equipment. The total initial outlay on the settlement will, therefore, be Rs. 25,000 instead of Rs. 20,000 required for the others, raising the total cost on all industrial settlements to Rs. 2,05,000. But some of the settlements which may be accommodated in existing buildings will require less outlay on buildings, while others, which will be intended merely as labour-supplying agencies, need not be equipped. A certain amount of expenditure has, moreover, already been incurred. We may, therefore, safely reduce the estimate to Rs. 1,50,000. About half of this would be needed at once, while the other half could be spread over three years.

	Rs.
Roofing and plastering of six barracks in the inner enclosure at Rs. 1,000 each ...	6,000
Repairing two outer barracks	1,000
Re-building back wall of front barracks ...	2,000
Repairs to inner circular wall	2,000
Other necessary repairs	4,000
Levelling the ground and starting the garden	5,000
Total ...	20,000

The agricultural settlements.

111. The members of criminal tribes to be settled on land will be the better behaved and more prosperous individuals who may be expected to have large families. We have assumed a family to consist of four persons for the purpose of the industrial settlements but, for the agricultural settlements, we should calculate on families of five persons each. To accommodate 500 persons only 100 houses will, therefore, be needed, against 125 in the other case. But the people will not have the means to build their own houses, and it will be necessary to provide houses for them. The cost will be—

	Rs.
100 houses at Rs. 50 each	5,000
Quarters for staff	2,500
Advances for bullock, seed and food, for first 6 months, at Rs. 230 per family (bullocks Rs. 150, ploughs Rs. 10, seed Rs. 20, food Rs. 50)	23,000
Well for drinking water	500
Total ...	31,000

Twenty such settlements would cost Rs. 6,20,000, *i.e.*, roughly Rs. 1,50,000 for buildings and wells and an advance of Rs. 4,60,000 or roughly 4½ lakhs of rupees. The latter may be granted as a loan under the Agriculturists' Loans Act, repayable in five years. The whole amount would not be needed at once. Probably about one-third would be required in the first year, and another third in the second year; the remaining third would be spent later on.

The boy school.

112. We contemplate placing the boys' school in the Ludhiana fort, but Commissioner Booth-Tucker also wishes to continue the weaving school there. New buildings would, therefore, have to be erected for the boys' school and boarding-house. The following accommodation would be needed:—

		Square feet.
For literary instruction—2 rooms 30′ × 12′ ...	=	720
For industrial training—2 rooms 30′ × 12′ ...	=	720
For boarding-house—1 barrack 300′ × 12′ ...	=	3,600
For Superintendent—15′ × 12′ ...	=	180
Kitchen—15′ × 12′	=	180
Total	=	5,460

Kacha buildings convering 5,460 superficial feet would cost about Rs. 5,460. Adding Rs. 100 for latrines, the total cost should not exceed Rs. 5,560, or roughly Rs. 5,500.

Recurring charges.
The Central Office.

113. The extra cost to Government in respect of the pay of the special officer will, according to the principle laid down by the Comptroller of Indian Treasuries, be the pay of the lowest grade of Assistant Commissioner, in the case of a civilian, or that of the lowest grade of Assistant Superintendent of Police, in case of a Police Officer being selected. The cost may be assumed roughly to be Rs. 500 per mensem, *plus* travelling allowance. The recurring charges at the Central Office would be approximately—

	Per mensem.	*Per annum.*
	Rs.	Rs.
Special Officer	500	
Head Clerk	75	
Record-keeper and Assistant Clerk ...	50	
Typist	30	
Camp Clerk	40	
2 orderlies, 1 Office peon } at Rs. 8 per mensem each. ...	24	
	719	8,628
Contingencies	...	1,000
	Total	... 9,628
or roughly	...	... Rs. 10,000

The reformatory settlement.

114. The cost of maintaining the reformatory settlement will obviously be larger than that of an ordinary industrial settlement. To deal with a population of 500 souls freshly taken from their tribes and in a very unsettled state, the probable requirements would be—

	Per mensem.	*Per annum.*
	Rs.	Rs.
Police Guard—		
1 Head Constable and 8 Foot Constables ...	...	1,300
1 Superintendent	100	
1 Assistant Superintendent	50	
1 Clerk	30	
10 Warders	100	
1 Cook	8	
1 Bhishti	8	
1 Sweepr	8	
1 Gardener	15	
3 Instructors	90	
Maintenance of drones	100	
Losses in industries	30	
	539	
or (539 × 12 =)	...	... 6,468
Contingencies	...	... 232
	Total	... 8,000

The industrial settlements.

115. An industrial settlement with a total population of 500 souls will require the following establishment :—

	Per mensem.	*Per annum.*
	Rs.	Rs.
2 Married Officers	200	
1 Single Officer	30	
1 Indian Assistant	20	
2 Instructors on Rs. 30 each	60	
1 School master	15	
Menial servants	25	
	350	
or (350 × 12 =)	...	... 4,200

The total recurring charge for maintaining one establishment will be Rs. 4,200 and for nine such establishments for the industrial settlements Rs. 37,800 per annum. The tenth industrial settlement, *viz.*, the reformatory, has been separately provided for.

116. The agricultural settlements, which will consist of the better behaved people, will require a smaller establishment. We estimate the charges below :— **The agricultural settlements.**

		Rs.	
1 Married Officer	... ...	100	per mensem
1 Single Officer ...	... ...	30	" "
1 Indian Assistant	... ...	20	" "
Menial Staff ...	... ...	16	" "
	Total ...	166	

or (166 × 12 =) Rs. 1,992 per annum.

The recurring charge will be about Rs. 2,000 a year for each settlement of this class. For 20 such settlements, the total cost will be Rs. 40,000 per annum. But the additional *malikana* of one rupee per acre, proposed in paragraph 83 on page 79, will yield an income of Rs. 20,000 per annum, reducing the net cost to Rs. 20,000 a year. Lambardari fees, which we have included in the cost of supervision in paragraph 86, will reduce the figure further to Rs. 18,000.

117. In course of time, the boys' school should contain about two hundred boys. After discussing matters with the Salvation Army officers and taking into consideration the actual figures at the Ruru boys' school in the United Provinces, we have come to the conclusion that the average cost of maintaining boys of this class in a large institution (including their food, clothing, bedding, etc.) works out to about Rs. 4 per head per mensem. But as this will not be a purely literary institution and the boys will be largely engaged in learning industries, they should, with their increasing years and experience, gradually take their support upon themselves The graduated system of payment for the boys, in force at Ruru, commends itself to us as suitable. The rates are given in the margin. The school will require two teachers and at least two industrial instructors with a Superintendent and a couple of Assistants. We note below a rough estimate of the recurring charge :— **The boys' school.**

		Rs.
Up to 12 years	... ...	4
12 to 13 "	... ...	3
13 to 14 "	... ...	2
14 to 15 "	... ...	1
Over 15 "	... ...	*Nil.*

		Rs.	
1 Married Officer ...	... ...	100	per mensem.
1 Single Officer ..	... ...	30	" "
1 Indian Assistant ...	... ...	20	" "
2 Instructors ...	... ...	60	" "
2 Teachers ...	... ...	35	" "
Menial Staff ...	... ...	25	" "
	Total	270	" "
Maintenance of 200 boys at an average rate of Rs. 2-8-0 each	... ...	500	" "
	Total ...	770	

or (Rs. 770 × 12 =) Rs. 9,240 per annum. Adding Rs. 760 for contingencies the cost would be about Rs. 10,000 per annum.

118. According to the estimates given in the preceding paragraphs, the total cost will be :— **Total estimated expenditure.**

INITIAL.

		Per annum. Rs.
10 Industrial settlements ...	... ...	1,50,000
20 Agricultural " ...	... ...	1,60,000
Boys' school ...	... ...	5,500
	Total	3,15,500

or roughly Rs. 3,15,000, besides an advance of Rs. 4,50,000 under the Agriculturists' Loans Act, repayable in five years.

RECURRING.

	Per annum.
	Rs.
The Central Office	10,000
The Reformatory settlement	8,000
Nine industrial settlements	37,800
Twenty agricultural settlements	18,000
The boys' school	10,000
Total	83,800

or roughly Rs. 84,000.

In framing the above estimates, we have had the advantage of a meeting with Commissioner Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army who considers the figures to be appropriate.

Justification of expenditure.

119. It is probable that the recommendations made in this report will be subjected to criticism in many respects, not the least of which will be the expenditure involved in putting them into effect. The estimates are necessarily only very rough, and the details of the various projects remain to be worked out; but we calculate that, to give full effect to the scheme we suggest, it will cost Government not less than three lakhs of rupees in initial outlay and Rs. 84,000 in annual recurring expenditure for a term of years which will probably not be less than fifteen or twenty. Not having received a definite reply from any of the local philanthropic institutions to our reference alluded to in paragraph 95, we have not included in the estimate the cost of placing some of the criminal tribes villages in their charge. If they volunteer for the work hereafter, as we hope they will, the initial cost may have to be raised by half a lakh of rupees and the recurring charges by some ten to twenty thousand. The initial outlay would have to be spread over two or three years, for the scheme would have to be worked gradually up to completion and, during this period of initiation, the recurring annual expenditure would be proportionately below the estimate. About a lakh of rupees would probably be needed in the first year, another lakh in the second and the remainder might be spread over a number of years. Similarly the recurring charges would probably begin with less than Rs. 50,000 in the first year and increase gradually to Rs. 1,00,000 or so.

Considering the magnitude and importance of the work for which this money is required, we make no apologies for the bill we present, but we are able to point with confidence to a large assured saving in the Jail Department, to a saving in the time of the police and magistracy which must be very considerable, and last but not least to a saving in the property and valuables of the public. The average number of members of the criminal tribes sent to jail annually, during the past five years, under the Criminal Tribes Act, is 394, and for default in finding security under the Criminal Procedure Code, 193. These 587 persons cost Government, according to the latest report on the administration of the jails, Rs. 80-14-0 per head per annum; and computing the average term of imprisonment awarded at 6 months, which is probably an under-estimate, the expense of their keep in jail is Rs. 23,736 per annum. As all these persons will, if the proposals in this report are adopted, go into settlements instead of into jail, the whole of this money will be saved. But the saving will be more than this, for an average of 220 persons belonging to the tribes are annually sent to jail for offences under the Indian Penal Code. Our proposals provide that offenders convicted under the Penal Code shall continue to be sent to jail, but that, at the expiry of their sentences, they shall be removed to settlements with their families, for good, and we cherish the hope that they will there settle down to honest pursuits. This annual harvest of 220 persons represents the most criminal element in the tribes and over half of them are found each year to have previous convictions, while the convictions of

some of them are expressed in double figures. If the scheme we propose is adopted, these habituals will go to jail once and once only after it is introduced, and, in view of the system of surveillance and provision of employment which we have proposed, the first offenders may be expected to adopt professions other than crime and cease to go to jail. The minimum sentence prescribed by section 23 of the Criminal Tribes Act for a second conviction for the more serious offences, enumerated in the schedule, is seven years, but we may assume that only half the habituals convicted are punished for these offences, the others receiving the ordinary sentence of two years which can be awarded by a 1st class Magistrate. As regards the first offenders, a member of a criminal tribe is seldom sentenced to less than six months' imprisonment. Calculating from these data, we arrive at an average sentence of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years for the 220 persons. In other words, the jails would have, at any particular time, to maintain about 550 members of the criminal tribes convicted under the Indian Penal Code at a cost of some Rs. 44,500. Adding to this sum the saving of Rs. 23,736 on account of members of criminal tribes imprisoned under the Criminal Tribes Act and the Criminal Procedure Code, the total anticipated saving in the jails comes to over Rs. 68,000 per annum or considerably more than two-thirds of the recurring cost of the scheme, when in full working order.

What the time now spent by the police and the magistracy, in a year, in dealing with crime committed by members of criminal tribes, is worth, it is impossible to say, but it must be very considerable. Again it is not possible to say what the value of property stolen by these tribes, settled and wandering, amounts to each year, but it must be very large when we consider that a large number of those with fixed habitation and a high percentage of those in a wandering state subsist by crimes against property. Of the latter alone, we have shown that there are 41,000 persons, belonging to gangs wandering in the province, of whom 14,500 are certainly criminal; of the remainder probably half or 13,250 subsist on crime, giving a total of no less than 27,750 persons living on theft. Investigations in the United Provinces show that these wanderers are extremely well off, having large hoards of money buried about in the country; but, computing the cost of their living at Rs. 4 a head per mensem, they must steal over thirteen lakhs worth of property every year. These calculations are necessarily vague, but they are sufficiently approximate to show that one lakh spent per annum in the reclamation of these tribes would by no means be wasted.

Finally, there are the people of the tribe themselves to be considered. For generations they have been outcasted and loathed throughout the country, partly owing to their status but chiefly on account of their criminal proclivities and their habits which are often exceedingly disgusting. To reclaim these people, their children and grand-children from a life of abject degeneracy and crime and to gradually convert them into rational members of society is a project so laudable that the expenditure of money to accomplish it requires no vindication.

In the United Provinces, provision has been made for a non-recurring grant of a lakh of rupees this year, and the annual recurring grant is fixed for the present at Rs. 15,000. We understand that the Government is prepared to consider an increase on this expenditure.

In the Bombay Presidency where, only some 5,000 people are being dealt with, Mr. Starte estimates that he will require the following grants:—

	Rs.
1914-15	21,000
1915-16	32,000
1916-17	20,000
1917-18	17,000

MISCELLANEOUS.

120. In accordance with instructions, we have drafted a set of rules, under Section 20 of the Act, which to us seem suitable for the purpose of carrying **The rules.**

into effect the principles we have evolved. They will be found in Appendix V. We would advocate these rules being sanctioned and published at an early date as some of the old rules, now in force, clash in certain respects with the provisions of Act III of 1911.

Acknowledgments.

121. In concluding the report we wish to place on record our acknowledgment of the courtesy of the Salvation Army in allowing us to visit their settlements, and our thanks are particularly due to Commissioner Booth-Tucker for his co-operation generally and to Brigadier J. K. Robertson who accompanied us on our tours and rendered us invaluable help in studying the details at each of the Salvation Army settlements. We also gratefully acknowledge the assistance we received from Mr. W. J. D. Burkitt, Joint Judicial Secretary to Government, and Mr. A. W. Richardson, Superintendent of Police, on special duty, in the United Provinces, and from Mr. H. Starte of the Bombay Civil Service.

L. L. TOMKINS,

Superintendent of Police,

on special duty.

HARI KISHAN KAUL,

Deputy Commissioner,

on special duty.

DATED LAHORE,

The 9th April 1914.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Wandering tribes admittedly criminal.

Serial No.	NAME OF TRIBE.	POPULATION.						
		Over 12.		12 *or under.*		*Total.*		
		Male.	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1	Nat	1,542	1,444	948	963	2,490	2,407	4,897
2	Kuchband	646	633	541	526	1,187	1,159	2,346
3	Dhe	431	360	314	302	745	662	1,407
4	Sansi	322	343	271	252	593	595	1,188
5	Bhangali	360	290	217	208	577	498	1,075
6	Barar	263	192	167	153	430	345	775
7	Pakhiwara	237	186	167	158	404	344	748
8	Ghandhila	123	110	75	70	198	180	378
9	Kanjar	76	92	59	58	135	150	285
10	Bauria	100	69	49	45	149	114	263
11	Bhedkut	48	73	66	65	114	138	252
12	Harni and Biloch Harni ...	73	65	52	49	125	114	239
13	Gedri	29	35	41	41	70	76	146
14	Rachhband	47	30	29	22	76	52	128
15	Mirshikari Belbaliya	23	19	17	18	40	37	77
16	Bhagiar Mar	16	17	11	20	27	37	64
17	Kikan...	18	22	10	14	28	36	64
18	Singikat	12	12	10	17	22	29	51
19	Baddon	11	13	8	8	19	21	40
20	Aheria	17	...	8	...	25	...	25
21	Bheria	4	3	5	1	9	4	13
	Total ...	4,398	4,008	3,065	2,990	7,463	6,998	14,461

APPENDIX II.

Wandering tribes of doubtful criminality.

Serial No.	Name of tribe.	Population.						
		Over 12.		12 or under.		Total.		
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1	Badi and Bazigar	8,357	7,549	6,224	6,159	14,581	13,708	28,289
2	Supela and Sapadha ...	925	684	662	378	1,597	1,062	2,659
3	Ferna	694	601	384	352	1,078	953	2,031
4	Aheri, Naik and Thori ...	579	468	335	278	914	746	1,660
5	Gagra	186	168	160	127	346	295	641
6	Fakir Churimar	152	142	125	105	277	247	524
7	Bhatra	88	78	59	59	147	137	284
8	Ararpopo	95	103	54	64	149	167	316
9	Mahtam	26	25	26	18	52	43	95
10	Panwar	11	8	9	7	20	15	35
11	Mochimang	14	6	5	7	19	13	32
12	Sayan	4	5	2	2	6	7	13
13	Santhya	1	1	2	...	3	1	4
	Total ...	11,142	9,838	8,047	7,556	19,189	17,394	36,583

APPENDIX III.

DRAFT NOTIFICATION RESTRICTING THE MOVEMENTS OF WANDERING SANSIS.

WITH the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, conveyed in Home Department letter No. 1986, dated the 15th December 1873,* His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to direct, under Section 12 of the Criminal Tribes Act, III of 1911, that the movements of all Wandering Sansis, whether known as Sansis or as Bhantu, Bhattu Chattu, Harar, Barar, Mahla, Bidu, Langah, Mahesh, Kopet, Tettlu, Arhar, Birtwan, Nat, Kikan, Kanjar, Bhedkut, Haburah, Bheria, Aheria, Heria, Bangali, Gandhila, Rehluwala, Gedri, Kuchband, Dhe, Mir Shikari, Singikat, Singiwala, Bhagiarmar, shall be restricted to the limits of the area of the Police Station within which they are found at the time of registration.

* Or quote fresh sanction if it has to be obtained.

APPENDIX IV.

DRAFT NOTIFICATION RESTRICTING THE MOVEMENTS OF WANDERING BAURIAS, HARNIS AND PAKHIWARAS.

WITH the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, conveyed in Home Department letter No. 1320, dated the 4th October 1875,* His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to direct, under Section 12 of the Criminal Tribes Act, III of 1911, that the movements of all wandering Baurias, Harnis and Pakhiwaras shall be restricted to the limits of the area of the Police Station within which they are found at the time of registration.

* Or quote fresh sanction if it has to be obtained.

APPENDIX V.

Draft rules under Section 20 of the Criminal Tribes Act, III of 1911.

Registration.

Form of register.

1. The register of the members of a criminal tribe, prescribed in Section 4, shall be in English and shall be in form A, appended to these rules.

Vernacular translation to be kept by officer in charge of a police station.

2. A vernacular translation of every register, made under Section 4, shall be kept by every officer in charge of a police station so far as it concerns his jurisdiction.

Form of notice under Section 5.

3. The notice issued by a District Magistrate under Section 5 shall be in Urdu and in form B, appended to these rules.

Publication of notice in town or village.

4. (*i*) The notice prescribed in Section 5 of the Act shall be sent to the officer in charge of any police station within the limits of which a member, or members, of the tribe whom it concerns reside. Such officer shall cause a copy of the notice to be affixed to some conspicuous part of the place where the register is to be made and of each village or town within his jurisdiction containing one or more such members.

Service of notice on headman and proclamation.

(*ii*) A copy of such notice shall be served on the headman or headmen of every such village or town, and it shall thereupon be the duty of such headman or headmen to cause the contents of the aforementioned notice to be proclaimed by word of mouth by the village watchman of his or their village or town.

Service of notice in towns.

(*iii*) When the town in question contains no watchman, such notice shall be served on the principal police officer of such town, who shall cause it to be proclaimed in like manner, by any of the police officers subordinate to him.

Service of notice in settlements.

(*iv*) In the case of unregistered members of a criminal tribe, residing in a settlement established under Section 16, the notice shall be served on such members through the officer in charge of the settlement and the registration and recording of the finger-impressions shall be effected with his assistance.

Service of notice on absent member.

(*v*) In the case of an unregistered member, who may be temporarily away from home, the District Magistrate may have the notice under Section 5 served on him in the manner prescribed in the Criminal Procedure Code for the service of a summons.

Exclusion of females and children.

5. Unless specifically directed to the contrary by the District Magistrate, all female members of criminal tribes and all children under the age of 12 years shall be excluded from registration.

Finger impressions.

6. Finger impressions of all persons registered shall be taken at the time of registration under the orders of the Superintendent of Police.

Lists of registered members to be given to headmen.

7. On completion of the register, the District Magistrate shall cause to be delivered to the headman of the village and the owner of any land or agent of such owner of land, where registered members of a criminal tribe reside, a copy of sections 26 and 27 of the Act together with a list of the members there residing.

Addition to register when completed.

8. (*i*) Whenever, after the completion of the register of a criminal tribe, application is made to the District Magistrate for an entry to be made in the register, the notice under Section 7 shall be served in form B, alluded to in rule 3, in the manner provided in the Criminal Procedure Code for the service of a summons, the Superintendent of Police being at the same time informed of the date and place fixed for the proceedings. In the case of a member of a criminal tribe residing in a settlement, such summons shall be sent to, and served through, the officer in charge of the settlement.

Erasure from register when completed.

(*ii*) Whenever application is made to the District Magistrate for the erasure of a name from the register of a criminal tribe, the District Magistrate shall call upon the Superintendent of Police to show cause why the erasure should not be made.

(*iii*) The District Magistrate, acting under Section 8, shall not erase, or order the erasure of, the name of a registered person unless such person proves that he does not belong to the criminal tribe to which he was alleged to belong and that he does not belong to any other registered criminal tribe.

Condition essential to erasure by District Magistrate.

Restrictions.

Registered member restricted under Section 10 (*a*) to report himself at intervals.

9. Every registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 10 (*a*) shall report himself to the officer in charge of the police station, or to the zaildar or lambardar, within whose jurisdiction he resides, at such intervals as the District Magistrate may, by special or general order, direct.

Report to be made by registered member restricted under Section 10 (*a*), when absent.

10. Every registered member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 10 (*a*), who absents himself from his place of residence, during the intervals prescribed by rule 9, for more than one day, shall report himself to the headman of every village where he spends a night, and such headman shall certify the date of such member's arrival and departure in form C, appended to these rules, a copy of which such member shall obtain from the headman of his village before absenting himself. On his return he shall make over the form to the headman of his village, who shall forward it to the officer in charge of the police station.

Absence without leave of registered member under Section 12 forbidden.

11. No registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 12 or 13, shall leave, or be absent from, the limits of the area to which his movements have been restricted, without having obtained a pass in the manner hereinafter prescribed.

Proviso.—Nothing contained in this rule shall be deemed to render it illegal for a registered member to quit the limits of the area to which his movements have been restricted, for the purpose of appearing at the police station within whose jurisdiction he resides, or before the nearest magistrate, to complain of an offence affecting himself or his family, or to obtain a pass under these rules, provided that such member shall give notice of his intended departure to the headman of his village and shall proceed straight to the police station or office of the magistrate.

Duties of headman.

12. The headman of a village, or where there are more headmen than one, the headman nominated by the officer in charge of the police station in this behalf, shall satisfy himself every morning and evening of the presence of every registered member of a criminal tribe residing in his village, whose movements have been restricted under Section 12, and shall report forthwith to the officer in charge of the police station any absence of any such member not authorized by these rules.

Roll-call.

13. Any police officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector may at any time hold a special roll-call of all registered members of a criminal tribe residing within his jurisdiction and in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 12 or 13 and it shall be the duty of all such members to attend and answer to their names on being informed that a roll-call is to be held.

Inspection of residences of members of criminal tribes.

14. Any magistrate, 1st class, or police officer not below the rank of an Inspector, may at any time inspect the residence of any registered member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 12 or 13 and, under the special orders of the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police, may so inspect the residence of a member of any criminal tribe.

Building of sheds outside the village prohibited.

15. No registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 12 or 13 of the Criminal Tribes Act may build outside the walls of the village within which he resides any shed or structure which may, in the opinion of the District Magistrate, be capable of concealing stolen property or cattle; and the District Magistrate may order such shed or structure to be pulled down and recover the cost of doing so from the person to whom it may belong.

Leave and Passes.

Leave for one day.

16. A headman of, or a police officer posted to, a village or an officer in charge of a settlement, in which reside members of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has been issued, may grant to any such member a pass, in form D, appended to these rules, authorizing him to leave the area to which his movements have been restricted, for one day, between the hours of sunrise and sunset.

17. The officer in charge of a police station or settlement within the limits of which a registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has been issued resides may, on due cause being shown, grant such member leave of absence for a period not exceeding 15 days and issue a pass to him.

Leave not exceeding 15 days.

18. If a registered member of a criminal tribe, whose movements have been restricted under Section 12 or 13, or who resides in a settlement established under Section 16, requires leave for a longer period than 15 days, he may apply through the officer in charge of the police station or settlement within the limits of which he resides, to the Superintendent of Police, who may grant such leave of absence as may appear to him reasonable and may issue a pass to be delivered to him.

Leave exceeding 15 days.

19. A registered member who obtains leave of absence under rule 17 or 18 shall travel to his destination and return to his residence by the route specified in the pass. He shall have the time and date of his arrival endorsed on the pass by the headman of the village of destination, and within three days of his arrival, he shall report himself at the police station within the jurisdiction of which his destination is situated and present his pass for endorsement.

Conditions attaching to leave obtained under rule 17 or 18.

But a registered member taking leave for the purpose of visiting a settlement established under Section 16 shall have the time and date of arrival and departure endorsed on his pass by the officer in charge of the settlement and during his stay he shall be subject to all the restrictions of the settlement.

20. During the time such registered member is on leave and when he is not in a settlement established under Section 16, he shall report himself, every evening, to the headman of the village in which he happens to be, and while at his destination he shall report himself at the police station and produce his pass for endorsement at intervals not exceeding 15 days.

Reports to be made while on leave.

21. Before returning to his residence, such member shall have the time and date of his departure endorsed on the pass by the headman, and on his return to his residence, he shall deliver up the pass to the officer in charge of the police station or settlement from, or through, whom he received it. Such pass, if originally issued by the Superintendent of Police, shall be forwarded to him by the officer in charge of the police station or settlement.

Attestation and final disposal of passes granted.

22. Passes issued under rule 17 or 18 shall be printed and written up in Urdu in form E, appended to these rules. They shall be drawn in triplicate and each part shall be signed and sealed by the officer granting the leave. One part shall be retained by such officer, the second shall be given to the person granted leave and the third part shall be sent to the officer in charge of the police station within the limits of which the destination of the holder of the pass lies.

Form of pass granted for leave.

23. If any person who has been granted a pass under rule 16, 17 or 18 is for any genuine reason, such as illness, unable to return to his residence within the period of his leave, he shall at once give information, through the watchman of the village in which he is staying at the time, to the nearest police station. The officer in charge of that police station shall verify the reason for his absence and send a report to the officer who issued the pass.

Procedure of person on leave, unable to return to residence.

24. Any pass granted under rule 17 or 18 may, at any time, be withdrawn by the authority granting it, or by the Superintendent of Police, and the leave granted shall thereby be cancelled.

Leave passes may be withdrawn.

Exemptions from restrictions.

25. (*i*) The District Magistrate may exempt any registered member of a criminal tribe from the restrictions of the Act, if he is satisfied, after enquiry from the police and from other officials and non-officials, that such registered member has completely reformed and that he has, for a period of 10 years, followed an honest means of livelihood and has not, during such period, been convicted for absence or a non-bailable offence and has not been reasonably suspected of committing a non-bailable offence.

Powers of District Magistrate to exempt.

(*ii*) The District Magistrate may at any time, for sufficient reason, withdraw any exemption granted under this rule.

District Magistrate may withdraw exemption.

26. Unless the District Magistrate sees reasons to the contrary, the following members of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has issued, shall be exempt from the restrictions of the Act:—

Exemption of privileged persons.

(a) Every boy and girl under the age of 18 regularly attending a school or working regularly in a settlement established under Section 16.

(b) Every person residing in a settlement who has worked continuously in th settlement since the age of 12 years.

(c) Every child of a person exempted under rule 24 who has attended a school up to the age of 12 years and has passed the Primary School Examination, unless and until he is convicted for, or is reasonably suspected of, having committed a non-bailable offence.

Discharge from the Act.

27. When every registered adult member of a criminal tribe residing in a particular village or settlement, has become exempt from the restrictions of the Act, all such members may, with the sanction of the Local Government, be discharged entirely from the operations of the Act and their names be erased from the register.

Complete discharge of communities.

Settlements.

28. The control of all settlements established under Section 16 shall be vested in a Special Officer to be appointed by the Local Government, who may visit such settlements as often as he may consider necessary.

General control of settlements.

29. Every settlement established under Section 16 shall be under the supervision of an officer in charge appointed with the approval of the Special Officer and such officer in charge shall be responsible for the enforcement of the rules and the general welfare of the inmates of the settlement committed to his care.

Officer in charge of a settlement.

30. (a) Any magistrate when sentencing to imprisonment under Section 21, 22 or 24 of the Criminal Tribes Act, any member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has issued, shall, unless he sees good reasons to the contrary, to be recorded in his order, suspend the execution of the imprisonment, under the provisions of Section 401, Criminal Procedure Code, on the condition that such member be forthwith placed in a settlement established under Section 16 of the Criminal Tribes Act and be there joined by his wife and family.

Conditions on which Magistrates shall place certain members of criminal tribes in settlements.

(b) When a registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 12 or 13, is sent up for action under Chapter viii of the Criminal Procedure Code, the District Magistrate may, in his discretion and after consulting the Special Officer, order the removal of such member to a reformatory settlement, established under Section 16, there to be joined by his family.

31. Whoever being a member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has been issued, is convicted of any offence other than those mentioned in rule 30 shall, at the termination of his imprisonment in jail, be placed in a settlement established under Section 16 and shall there be joined by his family.

Certain members of criminal tribes to be placed in settlements on completion of imprisonment.

32. Any member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has issued, entering a settlement under rule 30 or 31 shall be deemed to have been placed therein within the meaning of Section 16 and he or she shall remain therein until discharged or removed to some other settlement under the provisions of Section 18.

Members of certain criminal tribes entering settlement deemed to have been placed therein under Section 16.

33. All entries into a settlement established under Section 16 shall be arranged by the Special Officer under the general or special orders of the Local Government.

Special Officer to arrange entries into settlements.

34. Under the general or special orders of the Local Government, the Special Officer may arrange a transfer of a registered member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has issued, from one settlement established under Section 16 to another.

Special Officer may arrange transfers.

35. The officer in charge of a settlement may report to the Special Officer the name of any person, residing in the settlement under his charge, whose presence in the settlement he considers to be undesirable, and the Special Officer may arrange for the removal of such person to another settlement where he may be under stricter discipline.

Transfer of undesirables.

36. No able-bodied person shall be placed in a settlement established under Section 16, unless the Special Officer is satisfied that such person can be employed therein on an occupation sufficiently remunerative for his subsistence.

Employment for person placed in a settlement.

37. (1) Every registered member of a criminal tribe residing in a settlement shall, unless he is, by old age, physical infirmity or illness, unfit for manual labour, be employed on some kind of labour or industry to be determined for each settlement with the approval of the Local Government.

Employment in settlement compulsory.

(2) The working hours shall be confined to day-light and shall not exceed—

(*a*) in the case of adults, 11 hours including an interval of one hour for rest.

(*b*) in the case of children under 14 years of age, 8 hours including the 2 hours spent in school under rule 49 and an interval of one hour for rest.

38. It shall be the duty of the officer in charge of a settlement established under Section 16 to personally satisfy himself that every member of a criminal tribe residing in the settlement under his charge is provided, by the management, with sufficient means of subsistence, and he shall report forthwith to the Special Officer any difficulty encountered in this connection.

Responsibility of officer in charge regarding employment.

39. In all industrial settlements, after allowing daily wages for a time to be determined by the officer in charge and sufficient for the training of an apprentice, work shall be done, as far as possible, on the contract system of payment by piece-work, each worker being paid at least three-fourths of the estimated value of the work done by him.

Method of payment in industrial settlements.

40. When a registered member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has issued, earns in a settlement more money than is necessary for his subsistence, the officer in charge of the settlement may deposit the surplus from time to time in a savings bank account opened in the name of such member, who may not withdraw any of the money so deposited except under the countersignature of the said officer and for a legitimate purpose. When an account of this nature has been opened, the pass-book shall be made over to the depositor, who shall produce it, whenever called upon by the officer in charge, for inspection or for the purpose of making further deposits.

Investment of savings in settlements.

41. No registered member of a criminal tribe residing in an agricultural settlement notified under Section 16 may keep more cattle per plough than the maximum limit which may, from time to time, be prescribed by the District Magistrate in respect of each agricultural settlement.

Number of cattle which may be kept in an agricultural settlement.

42. No registered member of a criminal tribe residing in a settlement, who is not exempted under rule 24 or 25, shall leave the limits of the settlement without a pass under rule 16, 17 or 18.

Restrictions in settlements.

43. In all settlements established under Section 16, roll-call of all persons settled therein, except those specially exempted, shall be taken at least once in 24 hours, by the officer in charge, who shall immediately report any unauthorized absence to the officer in charge of the police station within the limits of which the settlement lies.

Roll-call in settlements.

44. Every member of a criminal tribe residing in a settlement established under Section 16 shall obey all lawful orders given by the officer in charge and shall conform to the rules relating to the settlement.

Inmates of settlements to obey orders and conform to rules.

45. Any breach of discipline in a settlement may, at the discretion of the officer in charge, be dealt with in any of the following ways:—

Punishment for breach of discipline in a settlement.

Adults.—(1) Formal warning to be recorded in the punishment register.

(2) Fine not exceeding one day's wage.

(3) Reduction of wages to half for a period not exceeding one week.

(4) Stoppage of leave during a period not exceeding a year or loss of other privileges.

(5) Report to the District Magistrate for—(*a*) withdrawal of exemption from restrictions granted under rule 25 or 26; (*b*) action under Section 22.

Boys.—(1) Fine not exceeding one day's wage in the industrial department.

(2) Corporal punishment not exceeding 12 cuts with a rattan on the hand by or in the presence of the officer in charge.

(3) Solitary confinement not exceeding 48 hours.

(4) In case of boys over the age of 12 years, report to District Magistrate for action under Section 17 or 22.

Girls.—(1) Fine not exceeding one day's wage in the industrial department.

(2) Corporal punishment not exceeding 6 cuts on the hand by or in the presence of the officer in charge or his wife.

(3) In case of girls over the age of 12 years report to the District Magistrate for action under Section 17 or 22.

Registers to be maintained in settlements.

46. In every such settlement, the following registers shall be maintained :—

No. I.—A register, containing the names and particulars of all registered members of criminal tribes in form A, appended to these rules.

No. II.—A register of exempted persons in form F.

No. III.—A roll-call register of persons not exempted under the rules, in form G.

No. IV.—A punishment register in form H.

No. V.—A minute book for remarks by the Inspecting Officers.

Education.

Compulsory education.

47. Every registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has issued, residing in a village or settlement where there is a school, shall cause all male children between the ages of 6 and 12 years, living under his care, to attend school regularly.

Removal of orphan and other boys to schools.

48. Any orphan boy or son of a registered but non-exempted member of a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has issued, between the ages of 12 and 18, may, under the orders of the District Magistrate, acting in consultation with the Special Officer, be removed and placed in a school established under Section 17 of the Act.

Education in settlements.

49. Every settlement established under Section 16 shall be provided with a school for imparting literary instruction in one of the vernaculars prescribed by the Educational Department, and every boy, residing in the settlement, between the ages of 6 and 18, shall attend the school for not less than two hours every working day.

Official visitors.

50. The District Magistrate, the Sub-Divisional Officer, the Superintendent of Police and officers superior to them in rank shall be official visitors in case of all settlements established under Section 16 and schools established under Section 17, and may visit any such institution and record remarks in the minute book. A copy of such entries shall be sent to the Special Officer for information and such action as he may consider necessary.

Wandering Tribes.

Passports.

51. Each member of a wandering gang belonging to a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has been issued, shall, at the time of registration, be given a passport in form J, appended to these rules, and shall be directed, by the officer making the register, to preserve it and produce it when called upon by any magistrate, police officer, village headman or village watchman.

Change of residence.

52. Any registered member of a wandering gang belonging to a criminal tribe, in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has been issued, may change his residence from one place to another within the area to which his movements have been restricted, provided that he gives three days' notice to the officer in charge of the police station, within whose jurisdiction he resides, and provided that the Superintendent of Police does not issue orders to the contrary.

Report to headman of village.

53. In case of any such change of residence the head of the gang shall report its arrival to the headman of the village within the area of which the said gang intends to encamp.

Absence from encampment of gang by night prohibited.

54. No registered member of a wandering gang belonging to a criminal tribe shall be absent from the encampment of the gang with which he has been registered except between sunrise and sunset.

Roll-call register.

55. Every head of a wandering gang belonging to a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification under Section 12 has been issued, shall be supplied at the time of registration, and thereafter on the 1st of January of every year, with a roll-call register containing the names and particulars of every male adult of the gang in form G, appended to these rules.

Roll-call.

56. The headman of the village within the limits of which such a wandering gang is encamped, or where there are more headmen than one, the headman nominated in this behalf by the officer in charge of the police station, shall hold a roll-call every morning and evening and mark the presence or absence of each adult male in the roll-call register referred to in rule 55, and shall report forthwith to the police station any absence not authorized by these rules.

Form B (Rule 3).

(To be printed in Urdu.)

NOTICE.

(Published under Section 5 of the Criminal Tribes Act, III of 1911.)

WHEREAS by notification No. , dated the published at page of

Part of the *Punjab Gazette* of the

have been declared to be a criminal tribe for the purposes of the Criminal Tribes Act (III of 1911), all / the aforesaid members of the said criminal tribe are hereby called upon—

(*i*) to appear before at

on the / forthwith on receipt of this notice* ;

(*ii*) to furnish to him such information as may be necessary to enable him to make a register under Section 4 of the said Act; and

(*iii*) to allow their finger impressions to be recorded.

District Magistrate.

*NOTE.—For use in case of wandering tribes only.

Form C (Rule 10).

(To be printed in Urdu.)

Form to be carried by a registered member of a criminal tribe, restricted under Section 10 (*a*) *of Act III of* 1911, *who absents himself from his residence for more than one day.*

Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Residence.	Whither proceeding.	Purpose of journey.

Rule 10.—Every registered member of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification has issued under Section 10 (*a*), who absents himself from his place of residence, during the intervals prescribed by Rule 9, for more than one day, shall report himself to the headman of every village where he spends a night, and such headman shall certify the date of such member's arrival and departure in form C appended to these rules, a copy of which such member shall obtain from the headman of his village, before absenting himself. On his return he shall make over the form to the headman of his village, who shall forward it to the officer in charge of the police station.

Endorsements while away from residence.

Date of departure on leave.	Signature of headman or officer.	Dates of endorsements while on leave.	Signature of headman or officer.	Dates of endorsements while on leave.	Signature of headman or officer.
Dates of endorsements while on leave.	Signature of headman or officer.				
				Date of return to residence.	Signature of headman or officer.
				Date of pass reaching Police Station.	Signature of Officer in charge.

Form D (Rule 16).

(To be printed in Urdu.)

(Foil.)

Day pass for members of criminal tribes restricted under Section 12 *of Act III of* 1911.

Serial No.______ Date________________________ Place ____________

Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Residence.	Leave.		Place to which the person will go.
				Date.	Day.	

Signature of the Officer granting pass.

Rule 16.—A headman of, or a police officer posted to, a village or an officer in charge of a settlement, in which reside members of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has been issued, may grant to any such member a pass, in form D, appended to these rules, authorizing him to leave the area to which his movements have been restricted, for one day, between hours of sunrise and sunset.

(Counterfoil for person given leave.)

Day pass for members of criminal tribes restricted under Section 12 *of Act III of* 1911.

Serial No.______ Date ________________ Place ____________

Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Residence.	Leave.		Place to which the person will go.
				Date.	Day.	

Signature of the Officer granting pass.

Rule 16.—A headman of, or a police officer posted to, a village or an officer in charge of a settlement, in which reside members of a criminal tribe in respect of which a notification under Section 12 or 13 has been issued, may grant to any such member a pass, in form D, appended to these rules, authorizing him to leave the area to which his movements have been restricted, for one day, between the hours of sunrise and sunset.

Form E (Rules 17 and 18).

(To be printed in Urdu.)

(Foil for record.)

Pass for leave granted to members of Criminal Tribes restricted under Section 12 *of Act III of* 1911.

Serial No. ______ Date ____________ Place ____________

Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Residence.	Leave granted.	Route prescribed.

Signature of Officer granting the pass.

Rule 19.—A registered member who obtains leave of absence under Rule 17 or 18 shall travel to his destination and return to his residence by the route specified in the pass. He shall have the time and date of his arrival endorsed on the pass by the headman of the village of destination, and within three days of his arrival, he shall report himself at the police station within the jurisdiction of which his destination is situated and present his pass for endorsement.

But a registered member taking leave for the purpose of visiting a settlement established under Rule 16 shall have the time and date of arrival and departure endorsed on his pass by the officer in charge of he settlement and during his stay he shall be subject to all the restricions of the settlement.

Rule 20.—During the time such registered member is on leave nd when he is not in a settlement established under Section 16, he hall report himself, every evening, to the headman of the village in which he happens to be, and while at his destination he shall report imself at the police station and produce his pass for endorsement at ntervals not exceeding 15 days.

Rule 21.—Before returning to his residence, such member shall ave the time and date of his departure endorsed on the pass by the eadman, and on his return to his residence, he shall deliver up the ass to the officer in charge of the police station or settlement from, or rough, whom he received it. Such pass, if originally issued by the uperintendent of Police, shall be forwarded to him by the officer in arge of the police station or settlement.

(Counterfoil for the Police Station to which the person is going.)

Pass for leave granted to members of Criminal Tribes restricted under Section 12 *of Act III of* 1911.

Serial No. ______ Date ____________ Place ____________

Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Residence.	Leave granted.	Route prescribed.

Signature of Officer granting the pass.

Rule 19.—A registered member who obtains leave of absence under Rule 17 or 18 shall travel to his destination and return to his residence by the route specified in the pass. He shall have the time and date of his arrival endorsed on the pass by the headman of the village of destination, and within three days of his arrival, he shall report himself at the police station within the jurisdiction of which his destination is situated and present his pass for endorsement.

But a registered member taking leave for the purpose of visiting a settlement established under Rule 16 shall have the time and date of arrival and departure endorsed on his pass by the officer in charge of the settlement and during his stay he shall be subject to all the restrictions of the settlement.

Rule 20.—During the time such registered member is on leave and when he is not in a settlement established under Section 16, he shall report himself, every evening, to the headman of the village in which he happens to be, and while at his destination he shall report himself at the police station and produce his pass for endorsement at intervals not exceeding 15 days.

Rule 21.—Before returning to his residence, such member shall have the time and date of his departure endorsed on the pass by the headman, and on his return to his residence, he shall deliver up the pass to the officer in charge of the police station, or settlement from, or through, whom he received it. Such pass, if originally issued by the Superintendent of Police, shall be forwarded to him by the officer in charge of the police station or settlement.

(Counterfoil for the person granted leave.)

Pass for leave granted to members of Criminal Tribes restricted under Section 12 *of Act III of* 1911.

Serial No. ______ Date ____________ Place ____________

Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Residence.	Leave granted.	Route prescribed.

Signature of Officer granting the pass.

Rule 19.—A registered member who obtains leave of absence under Rule 17 or 18 shall travel to his destination and return to his residence by the route specified in the pass. He shall have the time and date of his arrival endorsed on the pass by the headman of the village of destination, and within three days of his arrival, he shall report himself at the police station within the jurisdiction of which his destination is situated and present his pass for endorsement.

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Endorsements while on leave.

...ate of ...ture on ...ave.	Signature of headman or officer.	Dates of endorsements while on leave.	Signature of headman or officer.	Dates of endorsements while on leave.	Signature of headman or officer.
...es of ...ements ...n leave	Signature of headman or officer.				
				Date of return to residence.	Signature of headman or officer.
				Date of pass reaching Police Station.	Signature of Officer in charge.

Form F (Rule 46).

(To be printed in English.)

Register of Persons exempted in ——————— Settlement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Serial No.	Name.	Father's name.	Tribe.	Serial No. in Register No. I.	Date of exemption.	Rule under which exempted.	Remarks and subsequent orders.

Form G (Rule 46).

(To be printed in English for settlements and in Urdu for wandering gangs.)

Roll-call Register of __________

1	2	3	4																														
Serial No.	Name and father's name.	Tribe and name of head of a wandering gang.	*Date of the month of* ________ 19____.																														
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Form H (Rule 46).

(To be printed in English.)

Punishment Register of ———————————— Settlement.

offence.	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Name of offender and father's name.	Tribe.	Reference to serial No. of previous offences by the same person.	Date and description of the offence.	Warning or punishment awarded by the officer in charge.	Remarks by visiting officers.

Form J (Rule 51).

(To be on stout card, printed and written in Urdu.)

Passport for registered member of a wandering criminal tribe.

Name____________ son of__________ tribe__________
registered at________________ on______________

Restricted to area of Police Station.	Name of head of gang.

Signature of Registering Officer.

Brief description of person and left thumb impression.